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Berlin agreement paves way to detente in Europe



Catcalls notwithstanding, Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel have lasted out the game of political poker they let themselves in for a year ago in signing the Moscow Treaty.

Ratification would, Bonn said, be dependent on a "satisfactory Berlin settlement." This, as Chancellor Brandt pointed out, made Berlin the eye of the needle through which the camel of detente had to pass.

The entire policy towards the Eastern Bloc was thus dependent on the outcome of the Berlin talks at which this country was not represented and could merely give its allies good advice from the wings, as it were.

The Berlin settlement is as yet neither signed, sealed nor delivered but now that the Four Powers have reached agreement and the GDR has stated its readiness to conduct constructive negotiations with Bonn the government's *Ostpolitik* can be said to have passed through the proverbial needle.

The path is now open to a vista of activity in Eastern Europe and Europe as a whole. The seeds sown should be ready for harvesting next year.

Ratification of the Moscow Treaty, which now seems to be on the cards for the beginning of next year, is merely the immediate consequence of a satisfactory Berlin agreement.

Once the Moscow Treaty is ratified the December 1970 Warsaw Treaty can also be ratified and diplomatic relations between Bonn and Warsaw established as arranged.

There may be no direct link between the Berlin Agreement and the Warsaw Treaty but the Poles have made it clear that they are prepared to allow ratification of the treaty with Moscow to go ahead first.

Ratification of the treaty with Poland in its turn paves the way for diplomatic links with Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria. Not until relations with Prague, Budapest and Sofia have been improved and embassies set up will the formal aims of Bonn's policy towards the Eastern Bloc have been achieved and with them the sine qua non of fruitful cooperation.

Talks with Prague, so far conducted with circumspection by both sides, will probably be resumed with fresh vigour in September and there is no reason why links with Budapest and Sofia should not be assayed at the same time.

Agreement on Berlin gives a fresh lease of life to any number of treaty drafts in the Foreign Ministries of Bonn and the Eastern European countries, treaties that have so far failed to materialise largely because of the unclarified status of West Berlin.

There are trade and cultural agreements with the Soviet Union and other Eastern European countries and also the agreement on regular air services between Frankfurt and Moscow, talks on which have been in progress for some time and have of late appeared to be on the brink of a successful conclusion.

Providing there are no further setbacks the 1972 diplomatic harvest will be a good one and the gathering will also bring nations and peoples closer together.

The repercussions of the Berlin agreement go much further, however. They extend to future relations between the two German states. Domestic arrangements aimed mainly at easing restrictions on person-to-person contacts are to be reached alongside an international upgrading of the GDR up to and until the point at which this country and the GDR gain, say in autumn 1972, admission to and full membership of the United Nations.

The repercussions also extend to the future relationship between the United States and the Soviet Union in Europe and relations between the pact systems the two powers head.

The way is now clearer for what has so far seemed a most utopian project, the European security conference, and for talks on a mutual balanced reduction of forces.

The Federal government in Bonn has no intention of being overhasty and does not want to be committed to fresh deadlines but it is a known fact that Chancellor Brandt expects the European security conference to be convened some time next year.

Both Washington and Moscow will have noted that he has also announced, over and above the Berlin settlement, that "Our detente policy will be continued in a responsible manner. This means above all negotiations, regardless how long they may take, on a mutual and balanced reduction in troop strength and armaments in Europe."

In the communiqué issued after the spring session of the North Atlantic Council Nato made it clear to Moscow that agreement on Berlin was an essential prerequisite for a security conference.

It is probably true to say that Moscow accelerated the pace of the Four-Power talks on Berlin in order to be able to present Nato, as it were, with a full agreement in time for the December meeting. Nato would then, it is reasoned, have to show willing by entering into detailed preparations for the security conference.

Moscow has long been harping on the conference, which will probably get off to a relatively informal start in Helsinki and work its way towards a target that has yet to be defined in detail but amounts to relaxation of tension and security in Europe including the necessary disarmament agreements.

Soviet pressure to hold the conference has given rise to mistrust in the United States. It is doubtless true that the Russians will want to try and force the Americans out of Europe but it is another matter altogether whether their efforts will meet with the slightest success.

What is more, the Warsaw Pact countries will not only back up Moscow; they also have hands of their own to play. A new game of poker is in the offing. Brandt and Scheel will be in the thick of it; they have gained experience enough.

Rolf Breitenstein

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 30 August 1971)

IN THIS ISSUE



Berlin radio show

Klaus Schütz, Governing Mayor of West Berlin, is here seen at the controls of a colour TV camera on 27 August, the opening day of this year's Berlin radio show. Twenty-five thousand visitors were expected to fly over to Berlin every day to see the latest developments in radio and TV. (Photo: dpa)

Europe and the security conference

More than a year ago Moscow first noted that the time has come for a European security conference, a claim that has been reiterated at irregular intervals ever since.

On each and every occasion a detailed analysis of the juncture and the circumstances revealed that the degree of agreement among the potential participants amounted to no more than that thorough preparations for the conference were indispensable.

There has been no direct rejection of the idea. No one and no country has been opposed to a major European gathering. The provisos, however, have been all the more numerous and they have been anything but pretexts.

The originators of the conference proposal, the Eastern Bloc countries led by Moscow, insisted that no strings be attached. This demand alone led to disputes as to what constituted a condition and what a precondition.

It is a matter of course that prerequisites be fulfilled before a conference can be convened with any prospect of success. There is little point in a conference beginning with embittered ideological confrontation.

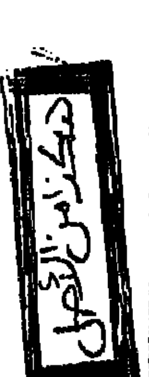
Gradually the time is growing ripe. Since the signature of the Moscow and Warsaw treaties insults are no longer likely to be bandied about round the conference table.

Since agreement on Berlin one can but hope that the will to bring about a relaxation of tension will achieve practical results at this European hot spot. The symbolic value of an agreement on Berlin, felt to be so urgent by the West and at first denigrated by the East, can hardly fail to be without effect.

Yet the time is still not fully ripe for a security conference, only for thorough preparations. The concept of security must first be dissected into its constituent parts so that they can be itemised on the conference agenda.

Moscow has so far not gone into details of the form it would like security to take. All countries must now get down to protracted diplomatic groundwork and define how, in their view, equal security for all, great and small, is to be brought about.

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 28 August 1971)



■ FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Peking seeks worldwide united front against Washington and Moscow

Since the end of the turbulent days of the cultural revolution China has reasserted itself in world affairs. And because so few people go to the trouble of studying the ideological explanations given there is a lot of guesswork going on about the motives behind the current spate of Chinese diplomatic activity.

Some observers, the Kremlin, for instance, talk in terms of Peking pursuing a barely concealed classic game of national power politics. Others talk of China reverting to realism, whatever that may mean.

Each and every analysis of Chinese foreign policy must necessarily be based on Peking's assessment of the international situation. This assessment has remained virtually unchanged for nearly twenty years.

Since 1956 Moscow has considered the major contradiction in world affairs to be struggle between the socialist and capitalist world systems. Peking, in contrast, considers the main conflict to be that between the national liberation movements of the peoples and nations of Africa, Asia and Latin America on the one hand and imperialism on the other.

"The population of these regions amounts to more than two thirds of that of the capitalist world. They may be viewed as the focal point of global contradictions. They are the weakest link in the imperialist chain and the storm centre of world revolution" (*Red Flag*, 1963).

This tenet remains the hub of Chinese foreign policy. In recent years it has merely been extended (and rendered more complex) by the inclusion of the Soviet Union among the imperialist powers, a fact proved once and for all, Peking reckons, by the 1968 invasion of Czechoslovakia.

At the ninth congress of the Chinese Communist Party in 1969 Defence Minister Lin Piao accordingly brought the tenet of a global major contradiction up to date.

He noted the "contradiction between the oppressed nations on the one hand and the imperialism (of the capitalist countries, first and foremost the United States) and the social imperialism (of the Soviet Union) on the other."

Put in simpler terms China works on the assumption that there is a worldwide struggle against the two superpowers and that a widespread and united front must be formed against them.

China includes in this front everyone who is against the influence of Moscow and Washington regardless of fundamental ideological differences. As a result it has from time to time included such a varied collection of politicians as the military dictators of Brazil, the Shah of Persia, Yahya Khan of Pakistan, Nicolae Ceausescu of Rumania and President Numeiry of the Sudan.

Peking's diplomats, skilfully marshalled by Premier Chou En-lai, are meeting with increasing success in exploiting the partial and temporary correspondence of interests of these various political figures for the purposes of their own dual strategy aimed at both the United States and the Soviet Union.

The military rulers of Brazil are praised, for instance, for claiming 200 miles of territorial waters and so defending their national fishing interests from Washington and Moscow, both of whom reject outright any such extension of rights of sovereignty.

In a trade agreement with Peru Peking has lent express support to the 200-mile limit demand made by Lima and many other Latin American countries, terming it just and legitimate.

The Chinese have promised the Shah support in the struggle to defent Iran's sources of raw materials. Teheran's decision to join forces with nine other petroleum-exporting countries in negotiating new prices more in accord with the national interests of the OPEC countries is rated a part of the anti-imperialist struggle.

China is also, unlike Russia, most approving of the agreement reached on British membership of the Common Market and the progress it feels to have been achieved towards a European Europe capable of more clearly articulating its own interests and gradually lessening the influence of the United States and the Soviet Union on the Continent.

Chinese strategy is particularly apparent in the Balkans, where Moscow's supporters already suspect the emergence of a Tirana-Belgrade-Bucharest axis which is, incidentally, based solely on a common fear of the repercussions of the Brezhnev Doctrine and amounts to a correspondence of national interests rather than to ideological agreement.

China, which lends support to the policies of independence pursued by the countries in question, is, as far as Yugoslavia and Rumania are concerned an additional deterrent to Soviet hegemony wishes.

The invitation extended to President Nixon must also be viewed within the framework of this strategy. China would dearly like to put a spoke in the wheel of the dialogue between Washington and Moscow and considers the United States is in a globally defensive position in which it has no alternative but to come to a compromise with Peking.

Many observers have failed to see why Peking has sided with the West Pakistan military rather than with the Awami League which is waging guerrilla war to establish an independent Bangla Desh.

Chinese Marxists consider the Awami League to be a bourgeois party of landowners and businessmen and its nationalist slogans aimed at the creation of an independent state to be a means of breaking the back of West Pakistan capital in East Bengal in order to gain free rein in exploiting the workers and peasants of the East.

A bourgeois Bangla Desh brought about by the destruction of Pakistan and allied with an India that is, by the same token, also bourgeois would be a severe blow to the revolutionary movement on the Indian sub-continent and represent an enormous advantage for the world "reactionaries", particularly now that Moscow has concluded a formal friendship pact with New Delhi.

Peking is thus supporting Pakistan's territorial integrity in relation to both and biding its time until groups are formed within the Bengali underground that might be in a position to strike a blow at feudal structures in India too.

It would be a fateful mistake to believe that these political tenets developed by Mao Tse-tung as long ago as 1962 amount to no more than a propaganda justification of frankly national Chinese power politics. In Peking's view they form part of a programme of world revolution which, as Chairman Mao noted in 1970, already represents a fundamental ...

Peter Kuntze

(Süddeutsche Zeitung, 26 August 1971)

Moscow mobilises to keep the Pax Sovietica

The Soviet system has many handicaps, economic, domestic and humanitarian in particular. It is dominated by a class system, the spirit of subjugation and the police.

Yet in one respect it is streets ahead of Western democracies: in the continuity and strategic aims of a global foreign policy.

This advantage is due mainly to the institution of the politbureau, where the principles and perspectives of the Kremlin's political activity are worked out on a long-term basis.

The threads of Moscow's international policies all meet in the politbureau and individual operations, tactical and economic measures have all to conform to the master plan.

This is not, of course, to say that they all succeed, but they all have one target in common, the Pax Sovietica. World peace is to be kept by Moscow as it was by Rome in days of old.

The most important factor in Moscow's global political strategy is total armament. Arms have always proved the surest means of pursuing a worldwide policy of expansion. "Power comes from gun barrels" has in practice been the Kremlin's view ever since the days of Lenin and Trotsky.

The upshot has been total mobilisation, both of heavy industry, which is accorded full priority, and of the general public, and this emphasis has led to the accumulation that now goes to make up the sum total of Moscow's power and means of bringing pressure to bear.

There is the military spin-off of space research, the increasing stockpiles of medium-range and intercontinental ballistic missiles and nuclear armament up to and including weapons of mass destruction.

This is not to mention maritime expansion in all the seven seas and continual modernisation of the conventional armed forces. In common with all totalitarian systems the Soviet call to arms involves unheard-of mobilisation in time of peace.

The total nature of the Soviet drive gives Moscow more power over war and peace than the United States can now claim to possess.

It would nonetheless be a mistake to assume that Moscow's mobilisation aim is a Third World War. The target is to prevent a war and to achieve its aims by political means. Moscow has learnt Hitler's lesson.

The signs are that Moscow affords political strategy absolute priority over military considerations. The aim is to wear out the democratic alliance systems.

There is, of course, another side to the total mobilisation of the Eastern Bloc. The cost in material terms exerts a considerable domestic strain on the Soviet Union, Russia being neither fully nor uniformly industrially developed and its infrastructure leaving much to be desired in a number of respects.

The surplus value Soviet workers produce year by year is invested not in welfare and prosperity but in armaments, which amounts to the Nazi slogan of guns before butter.

The Soviet satellites are also growing increasingly dissatisfied because they are being exploited by the Soviet imperialists to the same end.

There are thus three sides to internal dissatisfaction within the Soviet bloc. The material aspect is the inadequate supply of consumer goods for the civilian population (only the ruling classes have all they need). The intellectual aspect is the suppression of intellectual freedom and the freedom of conscience and information enforced for doctrinal reasons.

The third, national aspect is the recollection by the satellite countries that they have interests of their own and ought to make progress in accordance with their achievements.

To judge by past history an explosion is in the offing, as Moscow well knows. This is why it would like to tire out the West before dealing with China, resorting to refinements of political psychology at which the Russians are past masters.

The main features of this policy of attrition are the following:

– The West hopes of coming to terms, hopes that are continually encouraged by negotiations of one kind and another.

– The endlessness of the negotiations, which tends to make public opinion in the West impatient and inclined to make concessions.

– Partial successes for the Western negotiators that are insignificant in themselves but likely to have an adverse effect on the arms and defence preparedness of the West.

– The increasing prospect of subversive activity as a result of the intellectual ferment and growing dissatisfaction over political stagnation in the West.

All the while Moscow's arms power is relentlessly on the increase. The Soviet empire is consequently in a position to intervene anywhere in the world. Moscow invariably has a stake in the latest hot spot, having first supplied development aid, then weapons and finally gained a military foothold.

This policy is pursued systematically wherever the possibility arises. It was the case some years ago in Cuba, was lately the case in the Eastern Mediterranean and the Middle East and is now being pursued in India, which for long laid proud claim to non-alignment.

In all cases the countries concerned formed part of the Western sphere of influence in 1945. It is high time to think in terms of decolonisation.

Wilhelm Ritter von Schramm

(Münchner Merkur, 24 August 1971)

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■ BERLIN

Four-power agreement a feather in Brandt and Scheel's caps



Berlin, the explosive city of Europe, has been defused! This not only could, but should be the outcome of the agreement reached by the ambassadors of the Four Powers on 23 August.

According to the information that has leaked out so far the United States, Great Britain and France have made concessions, as had been expected. But the Soviet Union appears to have made concessions to an extent that no one would have predicted even as these extraordinarily tough and hard-fought negotiations neared their end.

Some observers have even gone so far as to suggest that the Soviets have escaped from their own shadow in Berlin.

We cannot tell at the moment whether these impressions are in fact true. For we have still to wait for the no less difficult phase of negotiations between representatives of the two parts of Germany on details of the Berlin agreement. Many an as yet undiscovered hurdle may be thrown up by these forthcoming talks.

Furthermore the Four Powers have still to give final confirmation to what looks on paper like a great political breakthrough.

The Berlin scene has changed radically since the Four Power agreement. This is the *first time that the* two sides have actually *put rapprochement* into practice and *in the* seventeen months for which the negotiations have been running a settlement has been reached of which the immediate pragmatic advantages for all concerned are clearly visible at first glance, and its political consequences for those who took part will slowly be unravelled.

The gist of the agreement is this: Berlin has no more become the eleventh state of the Federal Republic than it has that "special political unit" which the Soviet Union has tried to make of it.

It is important to bear this and other demands by the Communists in mind when drawing up the balance sheet of the talks. Walter Ulbricht repeated time and again that West Berlin was situated on East German territory. Even this thesis is no longer valid.

What is far more important in future is the so-called stronger ties between West Berlin and the Federal Republic, for these have been recongnised by the Soviet Union for the first time and have been put down in black and white.

If the West has had to pay for this by reducing the Federal presence in Berlin it is not a high price because the three powers were calling for limitations prior to this. It is less feasible than ever to speak of West Berlin as "an independent political unit".

This fact that must be given precedence. But the most important part of the agreement is that the Soviet Union has declared in writing that is partly responsible for free access to Berlin. This is the point that is really likely to stick in Erich Honecker's craw.

Now that all four powers have agreed to oil the works of *transit to Berlin* there is less room for manoeuvre for the troublemakers in East Berlin. This is not changed by the fact that there is no formal guarantee on this point.

Bonn has not only the Americans, British and French carrying out their duties in and around Berlin, but can now call on the Russians, too.

In this way the government has been proved right in sticking out for a direct link between a satisfactory settlement in Berlin and ratification of the Moscow and Warsaw Treaties.

The Kremlin has failed to achieve its aim of weakening the hold of West Germany on West Berlin while strengthening its own grip on the city and at the same time delegating to the GDR a far more significant role in Berlin's affairs.

Now that West and East have agreed through their main representative countries on a settlement for Berlin it will be more difficult than ever for the GDR to throw a match into this powder-keg.

There will not only be a treaty preventing them, but also the declared will of the Four Powers, who are not going to let the careful balancing of mutual interests that they have negotiated be upset by any outsider.

Willy Brandt and Walter Scheel proved their good nerves and fine sense of judgment in making ratification depend on a Berlin settlement. This put pressure on the Soviet Union. And thus it was possible to arrive at a situation where with all the changes in Central Europe based on the fact that the division of Germany cannot be revoked over a long period Berlin was not left out in the cold.

On the contrary; the arrangement between West and East will be put into practice at precisely the point where, politically, it seemed until recently there was less chance than ever of reaching accord. This is the historical significance of the agreement and it leaves us with the hope that the "status quo plus" will be an immediate improvement for West Berliners.

Hans J. Kranz

(Lübecker Nachrichten, 24 August 1971)

Allies agree on the terms

On 23 August ambassadors Kenneth Rush of the United States, Piotr Abrasimov of the Soviet Union, Sir Roger Jackling from Great Britain and Jean Sauvagnargues of France concluded a skeleton agreement on the future of West Berlin.

So far only the outline of the agreement has been made public. It is the result of 33 rounds of ambassadorial talks, lasting in all about 142 hours spread over seventeen months.

It has now been put to the governments involved for their approval.

The approval of the governments should, in the opinion of M. Sauvagnargues, be forthcoming within the next ten days. Following this the agreement would be initialled by the ambassadors and then published.

Then it would be the turn of Bonn and East Berlin to negotiate about the technical matters surrounding the question of transit to West Berlin. The Berlin Senate, too, will have to discuss details with the German Democratic Republic.

According to the information that has trickled out so far the practical settlements that have been agreed are as follows:

1 Berlin Traffic will in future be "unimpeded, privileged and speeded up". Obviously there are plans for sealed lorries and freight trains. In future travellers will be identified, but not investigated, although spot checks will presumably still be permissible. According to the information on hand the Bonn government will come to a general settlement of transit and visa fees with the GDR.

The Four Powers will receive joint responsibility for transit traffic to West Berlin. In the event of conflicts arising each of the Four Powers will have the right to lodge complaints with the other three.

2 The Presence of Federal Agencies will be recognised and limited immediately. Plenary meetings of the Bundestag, joint meetings of its departments as well as sovereign acts by the Federal President and the Bonn government will no longer be allowed in West Berlin.

On the other hand the parliamentary parties and individual departments will be allowed to hold discussions in Berlin as long as their business is directly concerned with the divided city. Offices at present in West Berlin will be allowed to continue their work and will be subordinated to an authority that will act as a liaison bureau with the Western powers and the Senate.

Visits to Berlin by the President, the Chancellor and Cabinet Ministers will be permitted. The right of West Berliners to belong to Federal Republic offices is not contested. Delegations consisting of citizens of the Federal Republic and of West Berliners will be accepted.

3 Federal Republic passports for West Berliners are to be valid in the East Bloc in future. But a note will be attached to them to the effect that they were issued at the command of the Western allies' commandant in the city.

4 Foreign policy representation of West Berlin will be taken over by the Federal Republic with agreement of the Soviet Union if the statements that have been made on this section are on the mark. Thus West Berliners would enjoy Bonn's consular protection even when they were travelling in the East Bloc countries. In addition the Federal Republic would be able to include West Berlin in its treaties, even those with communist countries, by means of a "Berlin clause" and Bonn would be able to represent the divided city on behalf of the Western powers in all international organisations, including, presumably, the United Nations.

5 Visits to East Berlin would be possible for West Berliners, according to he provisions of the skeleton agreement. When visiting East Berlin and the GDR West Berliners would be treated the same as other tourists.

Negotiations between the Berlin Senate and the GDR will decide the time limit of visits to the GDR, permissible reasons for travelling there and the validity of West Berliners' Federal Republic passports in the eastern part of the city and the other Germany.

6 A Soviet consulate-general in West Berlin is to be registered with the British commandant in the city. Information on hand so far does not give any idea of the number of consular officials to be permitted or the scope of its activities, although we know these points were discussed. Nor is it clear yet whether this consulate-general will be subordinate to the Soviet Foreign Ministry or the Soviet embassy in East Berlin.

All the West's efforts to discuss the Four Power status of the whole of Berlin have obviously been in vain. At any rate the Soviet Union appears to have been unwilling to talk about this subject apart from confirming the fact that East Berliners will, now as ever, not be permitted to vote in the elections to the People's Chamber in November.

(Deutsche Zeitung, 27 August 1971)

Berlin houses fifty Federal government agencies

Approximately fifty offices and branches attached to the Bonn government work in West Berlin. They employ over 22,500 civil servants. As far as can be seen from the information already released about the Four Power umbrella agreement on Berlin's future the activities of these offices will not be diminished.

Apart from the Federal Presidial Bureau in Chateau Bellevue the Berlin representations of the Bonn ministries are housed in the Berlin Bundeshaus.

The Defence Ministry is not represented in West Berlin since the Federal military legislation is invalid in the divided city owing to the reservations of the allied powers.

The Berlin administration of the Bonn Bundestag has its headquarters in the Reichstag building. The remaining offices attached to the West German government in Berlin are the Press and Information Office and the Plenipotentiary of the German Federal Republic.

In addition to this the following authorities have branches or indeed their sole offices in West Berlin: The Federal Audit Office, the Federal Statistics Bureau, the Federal Supervisory Office for Insurance Companies and Building and Loan Associations, the Federal Emergency Reception Centre, the German Patents Office, the Federal Supervisory Office for Moneylending, the Federal Insurances Office, the Federal Criminal Register of the Federal Attorney General, the Federal Printing Works, the Bundesbahn, (West German Railways), the Federal Health Office, the Federal Debt Administration, the Federal Organisation for Physics and Technology, the German Archaeological Institute, the Federal Institute for Material Testing, the Federal Biological Institute for Farming and Forestry, the Federal Building Administration, the Federal Institute for Technical Aid, the Federal Monopolies Commission, Deutsche Bundespost, Deutsche Bundesbank, the Federal Insurance Institute for Employees, the Federal Labour Institute.

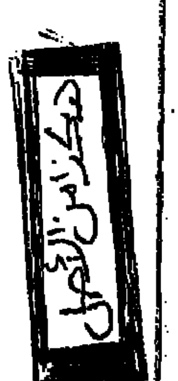
Further: the Federal Administrative Court, the Federal Supreme Court (the Fifth Disciplinary Senate), the Federal Disciplinary Attorney, the Senior Federal Attorney to the Federal Administrative Court and the Federal Attorney General to the Federal Supreme Court.

Apart from the Berlin offices of the individual Bonn ministries the most important Federal authorities in West Berlin are the Federal Insurance Institute for Employees, the Monopolies Commission, the Federal Administrative Court, the Federal Supervisory Office for Insurance Companies and Building and Loan Associations, the Supervisory Office for Moneylending, the Federal Insurance Office, the Federal Printers, the Health Office, the Federal Institute for Material Testing and the Federal Building Administration.

On 29 November 1949 the Bonn government decided to open representative offices in Berlin of all the ministries that needed to be present in the divided city for working and organisational purposes.

A Cabinet statement issued on 28 February 1950 read: "In order to increase the strength of Berlin's position still further it is essential that not only representations of further Federal ministries should be opened in Berlin but also authoritative Federal offices should be set up as soon as possible, notwithstanding the temporary difficulties being experienced with traffic to the city. By this means closer ties between Berlin and the Federal Republic should be forged and the services which are lying fallow in Berlin should be put to good use."

(Kieler Nachrichten, 26 August 1971)



HOME AFFAIRS

Federal states plan stricter arms laws

Frankfurter Allgemeine

News of another fatal shooting case in Frankfurt raises the question of how criminals come into possession of such weapons. Have the laws governing gun ownership helped cause the recent wave of spectacular crimes of violence?

The answers to these questions would be interesting in view of the current laws on purchasing weapons, long a target of criticism throughout the Federal Republic and rightly so.

Any adult is at present allowed to purchase any number of sports rifles, sports guns, air rifles and the necessary ammunition. A gun permit is demanded from a person intending to purchase a pistol or revolver.

If the responsible authority refuses the permit, the applicant still has a legal way of becoming the owner of a dangerous weapon. He can buy an alarm-shot pistol, which does not require a licence, and convert it without too much difficulty into a deadly weapon.

Of course he can also hire an expert to do the job he must be careful not to approach a professional gunsmith as the law demands that a person trading in weapons must ask to see a customer's permit before handing over deadly small arms.

A law allowing this must seem strange when it is remembered how dangerous the largely uncontrolled sale of weapons can be for general public safety.

The question why the Bundestag did not replace this arms law with a better one a long time ago does not lead the questioner any farther as the body has done its duty here.

It has reformed the gun laws as far as is within its powers outlined in Basic Law. But its jurisdiction in this field is much more restricted that the powers allowed the central government by the constitution of the Weimar Republic. The Federal Weapons Law that has been in force since 1 December 1968 can only control weapon production and trade.

The fact that the law continues to allow unrestricted selling of weapons is the fault of the Federal states alone. Only the Saar and West Berlin are welcome exceptions.

Basic Law gave the Federal states the legislative jurisdiction for all branches of public security and with it laws governing the buying and carrying of weapons. None of the Federal states have taken advantage of their powers.

Instead of aiming for a new law satisfying the demands of public safety and the need for a nation-wide solution, the Federal states left everything as it was.

That is why the public security regulations contained in the Reich Weapons Law of 18 March 1938 are still largely in force today.

The strict system of regulations and bans passed by the central government for the commercial manufacture and selling of arms loses a great part of its effect because private arms production is a matter for the Federal states and does not come under the old law.

An eighteen-year-old is therefore allowed to buy any quantity of semi-automatic long-barrelled weapons or guns manufactured in such a way that they are easy to convert into small arms that can be hidden and used for surprise attacks.

The Federal states' lack of action is made all the more regrettable by the fact that a Bill for a local weapons law has been ready since 1969.

Most of the Federal state governments introduced the Bill into the Provincial Assemblies in the course of 1969 and 1970 but nowhere have the proposals contained in the Bill been put into effect.

Realising that prospects of organising arms laws at Federal state-level were poor, the Hamburg Senate decided to take the initiative. On 17 November last year Hamburg, supported by Baden-Württemberg, Bremen, Lower Saxony and North Rhine-Westphalia, called on the Bundesrat to support a change in Basic Law.

It was hoped that the arms laws could come under the jurisdiction of Paragraph 74 of Basic Law, giving the government in Bonn more powers in this field and helping to achieve a unified system of laws.

The astonshing thing about this is that the move to increase the central government's powers and lessen those of the Federal states came from the Federal states themselves despite the fact that they are normally so jealous of their rights.

If the Bill's proposals are adopted a simplification and easier implementation of the arms laws would not be the only result. The necessarily strict regulations at present applying to arms production and trade would be extended to the buying and carrying of weapons.

The most important alteration to the current state of affairs would be that a gun licence would be required for the purchase of all types of gun, irrespective of whether they are short or long barrel, and an ammunition permit would also be demanded.

If all weapons in future require a gun licence the State would not only have a more accurate check over all arms purchases – it would also be able to control them as one of the proposals contained in the Bill is that evidence of need should be an essential qualification for the granting of a licence.

It is fair to ask whether this Bill takes advantage of all opportunities to prevent arms coming into the hands of criminals and thus reduce crime figures.

But one fact is certain – the legal sales of guns and pistols will drop considerably when this new arms law comes into force. It would then be restricted to a public containing few if any potential lawbreakers.

What the law cannot do is control arms that are already in a person's possession. It is unrealistic to believe that arms would be registered by their owners or even handed in if the legislature demanded.

The law will hardly prevent the coldly planned crimes of notorious wrong-doers. Some gangsters own machine guns already even though they could never be obtained freely through the trade.

Weapons of every calibre and make can be bought for a few hundred Marks on city black markets in obscure bars or at other meeting places of the underworld and semi-underworld.

Open frontiers and the difficulty in controlling people who cross them make it easy for arms smugglers to bring their wares unnoticed into the country. But many of the Federal Republic's neighbours have very liberal regulations concerning the arms trade. International, or at the very least European, cooperation is needed here.

Karl Feldmeyer

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 August 1971)

Kurt Spielmann fights for citizens' rights

Civil rights leader Kurt Spielmann has heard a State Secretary describe him as a pompous ass and brand his controversial news sheet a rag.

Other ministries in Bonn are politer. "Your other points will also be under examination," they write or "We shall consider your interesting contribution to the discussion."

For the past three years Kurt Spielmann, a native of Dortmund, and his "Association against Parliamentary and Bureaucratic Abuse" have been the target of this sort of praise and abuse.

Spielmann, a doctor of laws and now in retirement, is devoting his old age to the fight against awkward civil servants and apparatchiks who, he observes, are giving themselves more and more airs.

His association publishes a monthly magazine pointing out abuses in the system irrespective of the persons, departments or positions involved.

The Association does not specialise in its work. It deals with a wide range of questions covering the whole human spectrum, Spielmann states.

Among the variety of events and circumstances that have been attacked are a folk-lore festival in Essen ("State-sponsored obscenity"), the washing of cars on the street and the varying height of their bumpers, the President's swimming-pool, parking difficulties, the teacher shortage and ex-President Heinrich Lübke's last trip to Africa.

But the Association deals mainly with people who have suffered because of the arbitrariness or slowness of authorities. So far it has helped about 800 people, Spielmann claims, and it is the Association's circle of promoters who should take the credit for this.

Spielmann praises this vast body of support – currently around 1,800 persons and institutions – for their efficiency, their commitment and their unpaid work ("They work for the wages of God").

It unites engineers and lawyers, and people in professional life who are ready and qualified to look for mistakes or bias among official files and publish them in the monthly journal.

The circle of promoters has another no less important function – it keeps agitators and meddlers away from the exclusive Association board, twelve founder members who have to vote unanimously on new members but never have done. No new promoter can misuse his yearly membership fee of twelve Marks for pressing forward his interests. "The Association does not act on behalf of notorious grumblers," Spielmann says.

Spielmann has known people to resign when the free legal protection they desired was denied them. He removes their records from the files with a relieved "thank goodness they've gone".

If people like this ever got to the microphone at an Association meeting they would soon start up a selfish filibuster which is, in Spielmann's opinion, one of the main complaints afflicting similar institutions in this country. "They talk a thing to pieces there," he says, "We act."

Limiting the central board to twelve members means an enormous amount of clerical work for them. Dr Spielmann says that he has work for three younger lawyers but must do most of the work alone as the Association does not have all that much money.

About thirty petitions are received every day from genuine complainants and also people who just like writing letters.

A Pforzheim nature-healing organisation wrote, "Stuttgart taxi-driver Herbert Henika (taxi no. 744) has put up a no-smoking sign in his taxi to stop it from being filled with foul fumes all day. The Police recommend the inconsiderate smokers to sue him and add that he should let himself be retrained as a tram-driver. Must this man accept the dictatorship of the smoking minority?"

Spielmann usually answers the letters himself, covering anything up to a hundred complaints at weekends. The inflow leads him to sigh, "There are few problems that are not brought to our attention. Even complaints about cemeteries reach us."

When fighting against pensions for ministers, the actions of a State Secretary or parliamentary immunity, the Association against Parliamentary and Bureaucratic Abuse is never alone. The Human Rights Organisation has already recognised its services, Spielmann says.

The Association journal has a circulation of 12,000 and gets straight to the point. The April issue ends with the sentence: "The headquarters of the political parties always want our information and praise the free work done by the Association."

Support is not lacking as can be seen and is needed too as the Association is extremely ambitious in its plans for an ombudsman, the introduction of a plebiscite system, thorough legal reform and its fight on behalf of the man on the street.

A yearly budget of around 50,000 Marks is planned at present. This sum can be raised because staff are unpaid. If the worst comes to the worst – though this is not foreseen – and the Association folds up, its money will be divided equally between the Red Cross, the Deutsche Volk Study Foundation and the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Animals.

Christian Habbe

(Die Welt, 24 August 1971)

Immediate action to combat crime

Government circles responsible for questions of public security are awaiting with growing impatience the final decision on the establishment of a planned conference at which the Interior Affairs Ministers of the Federal states are to discuss proposals on how to fight crime more efficiently with Minister of the Interior Hans-Dietrich Genscher.

According to information available in Bonn, the meeting will probably take place in mid-September but this date is not yet definite.

It is assumed in Bonn that the Interior Affairs Ministers Conference will also discuss the demand for a programme of immediate measures to combat crime more effectively.

The programme, which would be compulsory for all Federal states, was called for by the Police Trade Union head Werner Kuhlmann after the recent series of bank robberies.

Kuhlmann demanded a strengthening of the police force through increased recruitment. For years there have been about ten thousand vacancies in the force and police have to do more than a million hours overtime a year.

It is still not clear whether the conference will deal with the demands made by the police chiefs of a number of large towns and cities for the laws of custody to conform with the requirements of an effective fight against crime.

Some experts believe that the "liberalisation" of the custody laws has meant that criminals committed to trial can take advantage of their period of bail to commit further crimes.

(Münchner Merkur, 25 August 1971)

VIEWPOINT

Liebknecht centenary prompts reappraisal of a revolutionary

Karl Liebknecht was born one hundred years ago on 13 August 1871. Together with Rosa Luxemburg he became one of the symbolic figures of the German Socialist movement.

Because of their martyrdom on 15 January 1919 Liebknecht and Rosa Luxemburg came to be thought of in the labour movement as the ideal figures of a consistent revolutionary struggle.

Today, fifty years after his death, a number of groups of varying ideology claim Liebknecht as their own. In the German Democratic Republic the Socialist Unity Party states that it is the heir of Karl Liebknecht who founded German Communism along with Rosa Luxemburg.

Revolutionary students admire this radical revolutionary and most Socialists too admit their respect for his attitude.

The support for Karl Liebknecht from such differing circles shows that he is one of the most important Socialists of the twentieth century and that his life and work have had a persistent effect on events after his death.

But it cannot be overlooked that the bias of his various supporters has obscured what the man was really like and made him into a legendary figure.

The Socialist Unity Party names barracks after Karl Liebknecht, which does no justice to his passionate anti-militarism.

Many young people call for strong action under banners showing "Karl and Rosa" without realising that these two *revolutionaries* of a past age first thought out *the theory of their* particular situation.

Left-wing Socialists swear by Liebknecht and Luxemburg, pointing to their differences with Lenin, but forget that Liebknecht was a fierce revolutionary.

Karl Liebknecht retained his revolutionary nature throughout his life. The son of Wilhelm Liebknecht, the co-founder of the Social Democrats, Karl had made a name for himself as a lawyer.

A passionate anti-militarist and one of the organisers of the Social Democratic youth movement, he became a member of the Prussian Assembly in 1908 and entered the Reichstag as as SPD deputy in 1912.

Within the Social Democratic Party the emotional Liebknecht was not numbered among the core of the left-wing but was thought of more as a lone wolf. Philosophically, he did not propound the theories of Marxian historical materialism. He was in every respect a stubborn individualist.

Liebknecht's name became a symbol in the First World War. He was led on by his hate of Prussian militarism and his personal courage when he alone voted against war credits in the Reichstag on 2 December 1914 and later, on 1 May 1916, publicly called for the overthrow of the government. Liebknecht's slogan "The main enemy is within the frontiers of one's own country" became known throughout the world.

After being thrown into prison, Liebknecht was unable to return to Berlin until October 1918. Scorned at the beginning of the war, he was now celebrated as a triumphant hero by the war-weary workers.

After the revolution of 9 November 1918 Liebknecht was one of the most popular politicians in Germany and he was invited to sit in the first revolutionary government.

But Liebknecht refused to work together with the Social Democrat representatives Ebert and Scheidemann who had arranged a truce with the ruling classes for the duration of the war and had attached more importance to defending their country than to the internationalism propagated by Liebknecht.

Together with Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht led the extreme left-wing Spartacus League which had been founded during the war.

His violent criticism of the new government and his constant call to push the revolution further on to the path of Socialism and rule by soviets soon made him the greatest enemy of the middle classes and the Social Democratic Party.

It was due to his efforts that the extreme left-wing combined to form the German Communist Party at the end of 1918 and in early 1919.

Whereas Rosa Luxemburg aimed at a link between democracy and communism, Karl Liebknecht was concerned mainly with the revolutionary activity of the masses.

Liebknecht can be seen as the pioneer of the anarchist communist groups that have hit the headlines recently. But he has also remained a symbolic figure for Communist Party youth groups.

But he was not only a consistent anti-militarist and a champion of a working-class youth movement. He was above all an extreme critic of the establishment, of capitalism and bureaucracy.

Two years before his violent death he wrote in prison his anti-bureaucratic theories which are in extreme opposition to the Socialist Unity Party's ideas but correspond exactly to the views of the young extreme left.

"That is the fateful circle in which the large, centralised organisations with their paid officials move," he wrote. "In this professional bureaucracy they not only breed a class hostile to the revolutionary interests of the proletariat but make them their leaders and, all too easily, tyrants."

The anti-bureaucratic Liebknecht called for a solution entailing a ban on the payment of party officials. He wanted all power for the soviets.



Karl Liebknecht (Photo: dpa)

Liebknecht was always a rebel. He supported his ideals even to the point of self-denial. This idealistic strain still attracts supporters among the left-wing youth of today.

But they often overlook his theoretical Marxist views which were often supplied by Rosa Luxemburg who also put a brake on his actionism.

The idealisation of Liebknecht as a fighter, the lack of historical reflection and the illogical application of his problems to our age do not do due justice to Liebknecht's acts and views.

It has long been realised that he was an unrelenting revolutionary but in no way the uninhibited demagogue he is pictured as in reactionary histories.

Modern historians are now busy changing this view of him. In his recently published work on the Spartacus League Giselher Schmidt writes, "There can be no doubt about it. Rosa Luxemburg's and Karl Liebknecht's human greatness, their intellectual prowess, their strength of will, their idealism, their courage and above all their intrepid fight against the butchery of the First World War deserve the highest respect. Even people not sharing their views will admit that."

Hermann Weber

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 12 August 1971)

Weimar Republic sounds warning note for democracy

Would Theodor Heuss, Heinrich Lübke and Gustav Heinemann have become Presidents of the Federal Republic if election had depended on the popular vote or would Nordhoff, Prince Louis Ferdinand of Prussia and Ludwig Erhard have taken their places?

This question is not so abstract as appears at first glance. Karl Jaspers is not the only one to have called for the President to be elected into office by the country. Free Democrat and Christian Democrat politicians also like elements of direct democracy.

The reason why the Parliamentary Council intentionally abandoned the example of the Weimar Republic and kept direct democracy to a minimum in Basic Law is revealed by a study now published by the Commission for the History of Parliamentarianism and the Political Parties.

Reinhard Schiffers: *Elemente direkter Demokratie im Weimarer Regierungssystem* (The Elements of Direct Democracy under the Weimar Government System). Contributions to the History of Parliamentarianism and the Political Parties, Volume 40. Published by Droste Verlag of Düsseldorf. 323 pages, Price: 48 Marks.

Author Reinhard Schiffers uses the example of the Weimar Constitution to show the two-edged effect of a system based on the popular election of presidents, on plebiscites and referenda.

The experiences of the fourteen-year Weimar Republic show that the proud boast of democracy is unable to counter the anti-parliamentary tendencies beneath the surface.

Direct democracy did not develop gradually as in Switzerland or the United States but was suddenly incorporated into the constitution and Schiffers' findings show that its anti-parliamentarian elements were a considerable strain on the Weimar Republic.

He concludes that the popular election of presidents, plebiscites and referenda make it more difficult for the parties to become the responsible representatives of all social levels.

Schiffers illustrates the ambivalent nature of these elements with material from unpublished sources dealing with the presidential elections of 1925 and 1932 and with the files of the Reich Chancellery in the Federal Archives at Koblenz and the Secret State Archives in Munich.

The experiences with the institution of popular elections conducted between the fronts as it were by Hindenburg (compare the Social Democrat slogan: "Beat Hitler, vote Hindenburg.") made the wary Fathers of Basic Law fear the causal link between popular elections and the development towards a totalitarian State.

Werner Diederichs

(Die Welt, 19 August 1971)

Sontheimer's political manual has some shortcomings

In his most recent work Kurt Sontheimer, the Professor of Political Science at Munich University has described the political system of the Federal Republic.

Such a description, limited to two hundred or so pages and intended to be read by people with no previous political education, is not so easy but Sontheimer has skilfully carried out the task he set himself.

His book is organised clearly and written unpretentiously. At the beginning there is a section dealing with the origins of the Federal Republic follwed by two chapters on economic and social structure.

On this basis, Sontheimer describes political life, the political parties and organisations, parliament, government and administration, the Federal Constitutional Court and the armed forces.

A short survey of the Federal Republic's position in international politics and a bibliography round off the volume.

The author does not try to conceal his support for present government policy, both foreign and domestic. He outlines the main features of this policy and supports the left wing-liberal interpretation of the idea of libertarian and social democracy proclaimed in Basic Law.

Sontheimer must be praised for trying to illustrate the political system by describing the social system. But the sections on economic and social structure are too short and sometimes the facts contained in them are inaccurate. These sections are the weakest in the book.

Kurt Sontheimer: *Grundzüge des politischen Systems der Bundesrepublik Deutschland* (Basic Features of the Political System of the Federal Republic of Germany). Published by R. Piper & Co of Munich as the second volume of their sociological series. 237 pages. Price: 16.80 Marks.

Sontheimer's long interest in the government's domestic policy doubtlessly helped him when writing this book. He combines the actual description of fact with a lot of insight and skilfully inserted judgements of what the man on the street thought or thinks.

A less welcome feature of the book is that the author takes over many of the cliches of the political and social criticism fashionable today without following them up an trying to adopt a discriminating attitude.

Mention is therefore always made of the "authoritarian" elements in the State and administration. The "consolidation of the status quo" of West German society is spoken of again and again. "Anti-Communism" is referred to as the "ideological content" of Adenauer's foreign policy.

The appearance of such cliches is unsatisfactory. Another regrettable feature in a book intending to provide information for political education is the amount of false data.

It was not one and a half million refugees who crossed from the German Democratic Republic to the Federal Republic up to mid-1961 but far more than two and a half million.

The Mark's purchasing power has not descreased by fifty per cent since 1951 but only by 35 per cent.

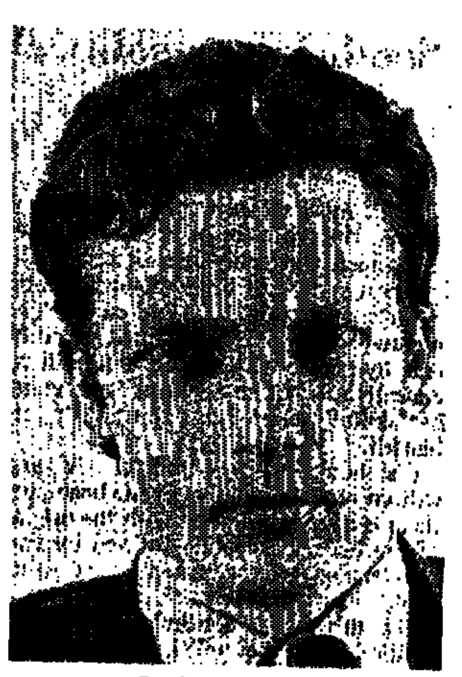
The population of the GDR is not twenty million but 17.1 million. There are not 250 people per square kilometre in the Federal Republic but 245 (in 1969).

The Brandt-Scheel government has not abandoned the Hallstein Doctrine, not officially at any rate, but has reserved the possibility of reacting in cases where other States give the GDR full diplomatic recognition.

These and similar shortcomings must be remedied in the second edition of this on the whole practical book. *Peter C. Ludz*

(Die Welt, 19 August 1971)





Burkhard Mauer

■ THE STAGE

German Theatre is in a bad way, Bremen drama adviser claims

The summer break in the theatres is coming to an end and stage people are preparing for the new season. What has been done wrong in the past and what must be done right this time is investigated by Burkhard Mauer, chief drama adviser to the Bremer Theater. His contract for the 1971-1972 season has not been signed by the administrative chief of the theatre. Mauer, who has been called the motive force behind the theatre in Bremen, has earned himself a reputation for producing diverse and progressive theatre in the five seasons ho has worked in Bremen.

Our theatre is the expression of the fifties when the war that had been lost so decisively was followed by the great re-building. We wanted to make a completely new start, but we had no idea where to begin.

And as we had no idea of how the cities of the future should look and only blurred or short-term ideas of how the society of tomorrow should look there was a great deal of political laxity, which brought about a retreat to a neutral sphere, that of the *beaux arts*.

As museums and art academies could not have a far-reaching effect on the political life of the people over a short-term the obvious answer was to build theatres.

At no time in Germany's history have theatres and churches been built with such gusto as in the past twenty-five years. But it is difficult to see why it was precisely at this time that the city fathers all over the country were intoxicated with the idea of drama to such an extent that they believed citizens of this country could no longer live without theatre.

At a time when no one dared to build monuments to kaisers, chancellors or Bismarck theatres were a perfect alternative. They sprang up like mushrooms and clearly reflected the helplessness of those responsible for them who wanted to provide monuments to their glory. The concrete-steel-brass-glass glory of our modern theatres has been called sarcastically "Gelsenkirchen baroque".

A false start was made and false theatrical programmes had to follow. The result is that drama producers and theatre audiences are in turmoil, although the latter are conspicuous by their absence. Unlike other monuments to the local authorities, be they beautiful or otherwise, which generally speaking mainly serves to hold up the traffic, something has to happen in a theatre. Theatres have to be filled with performances and with audiences.

Audiences were there to be had in the golden post-war years. Performances were put on somehow or other. Or course there were some excellent productions fulfilling the legitimate duty of filling the serious gap in information spreading that arose during the Third Reich. But all in all there were many theatres and not so many productions to fill them. For many city fathers and burgomasters these new theatres resembled the Delphic Temple built in Detroit from genuine Greek marble. Beautiful temple, no oracle. Not anywhere in Michigan.

It is also all to easy to explain the attacks made on the modern theatre. The one said protests because something must be done in the temples. The others protest because nothing does happen in them, because the theatres do not speak to the masses, particularly the working classes, and have no political effectiveness.

Theatrical people are caught in the crossfire, trying to explain the situation to both sides.

Since the first group has lost its credibility managers of municipal and national theatres come out more or less on the side of "social relevance". They are attacked at such great lengths by the young left that they take up morsels of the young left vocabulary as their own.

Their discussions tend to avoid all bones of contention until the leftists lose their desire to discuss anything and ignore the theatre. The average audience is getting older all the time and a hard winter brings heavy losses. Exceptions such as Bremen and Stuttgart, where the proportion of young theatre-goers is high, prove the rule.

A long, hard look at the money spent on the theatre including the large and famous theatres shows that behind the curtain there is a grim situation: the German theatre is almost as provincial as the German film.

Of course it is easy to convince oneself that this is not the case and productions such as Kortner's *Clavigo*, Zadek's *Measure for Measure*, Stein's *Torquato Tasso*, Grüber's *Penthesilea* and Hollmann's *Kasimir and Karolina* help to hid the general air of helplessness in the theatre.

But why is it that the most decisive theatrical discoveries are made and presented outside the "system" and indeed have to be imported?

First of all there was the Living Theatre that has now gone down in history. It began its successful European tour at the Berlin Academy of Arts.

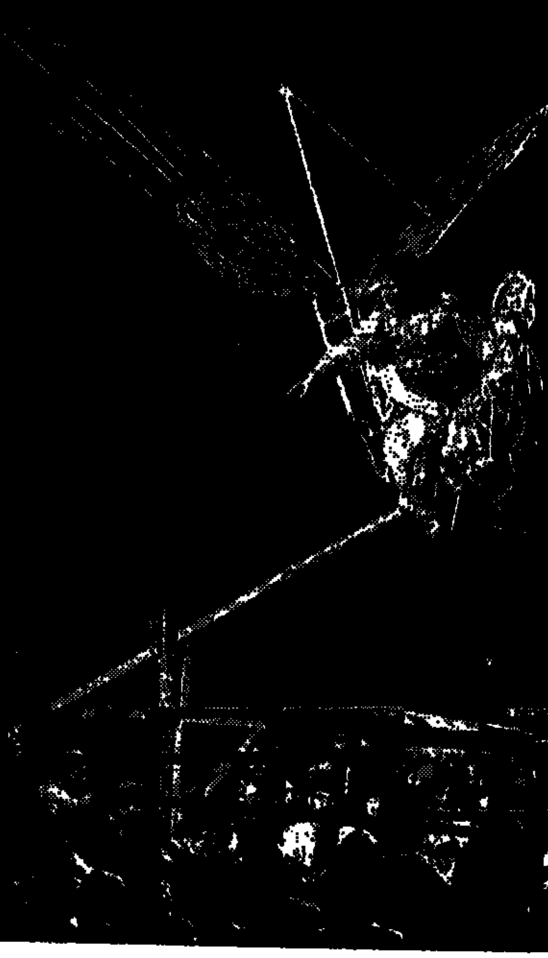
Then Iden and Braun brought La Mama to *Experimenta* in Frankfurt and proved strikingly with *Futz* how far agitation and englihtenment in the content of a play can be boosted by agitational forms

Later, again in Frankfurt, we saw Schumann's Bread and Puppet Theatre, an event which gave back to intimidated and frustrated theatrical producers and critics a belief in theatrical pathos without any irony as an excuse.

The last and apparently most consequential impulse came from Ronconi's *Orlando Furioso* where we saw through its vital gaiety that the theatre is the joy of inventiveness. A play becomes highly exciting where there is a possibility of acting along with it, even when this only amounts to having to get out of the way of the professional actors or be trampled under foot by a horse or a dragon.

The greatest effect of Ronconi's work, however, is that he was decisively aware of how to give the theatre audience back its sense of space in which the action takes place and turn the all-too-often one-sided preparedness of theatre audiences to learn into a readiness to experience.

It is not only outside the German theatre system that all useful consequential examples have been produced. This is food for thought. If we recognise that in Germany it is not just a load of morons who are working in the theatre it seems fairly clear that the theatre is in a position to recruit productive forces.



A scene from Ronconi's production of *Orlando Furioso* at the Berlin Theatre Festival

(Photos: Ilse Buhs 2, [illegible])

The German theatrical system does not allow important free groups to go into action alongside it and therefore the results of its work are, corresponding to its expenditure, hardly exciting.

Thus something must be changed even at the risk of this being a painful procedure since in the long run such a crass gap between *expenditure and success* cannot be tolerated.

The choice is to change the theatre or sit down and work out just *how long* there will be any theatre. However, in the past when there have been even careful and limited attempts to make changes the opposition has been great.

The most compact experiment that has been devised yet, the acting group that considers itself an actors' collective operating at the Schaubühne am Halleschen Ufer in Berlin, *is likely* to be brought to an untimely end as the result of political objections and an accusation that this stage has procured and used monies by unethical means.

Considering the comparatively small subsidies that are given to this theatre this accusation seems to be particularly absurd.

The much tamer Palitzsch experiment in Stuttgart led to heated controversies in the city council. Peter Zadek's Bremen productions have thrown the cat among the Volksbühne pigeons and there was presumably a unique occurrence when even the Volksbühne itself protested against "its" theatre.

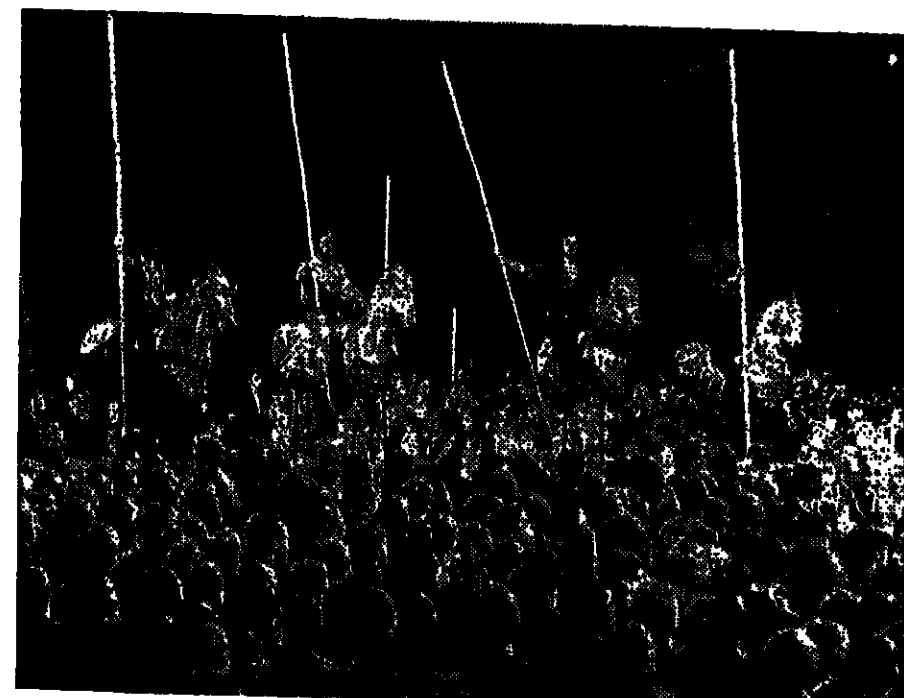
The Bremen experiment of a [illegible] theatre in the former Concordia cinema has been more impeded than aided by the theatre administration itself.

There remains just the one group that seems to have found a form suitable to and corresponding to the current situation, namely the Munich Antiteater run by Rainer Werner Fassbinder.

At first glance this appears to be an example of the kind of significant free group which I have said is non-existent in West Germany. But this is only partly true. Certainly the Antiteater began as a free group, but its greatest effect has been achieved through alliance with municipal theatres.

It is typical of the state of our theatre that Fassbinder has been considered an exotic phenomenon.

Continued on page 7



Audience participartion in *Orlando Furioso*

THE ARTS

Spare-time painters show their skills at Hamburg

It is impossible to say how many spare-time painters there are but we do know that their number is far greater than the forest of television aerials on the roofs of Europe might suggest.

Rolf Italiaander did not know what he was unleashing when he composed a newspaper advertisement announcing a competition for amateur painters in Europe.

More than eight thousand entries were received instead of the few hundred expected. Spare-time painters are a quiet bunch. Few people other than relatives and friends ever know of their hobby and it is very rare for two of them to meet.

That is the explanation for the magnificent response. The spare-time artists were quick and eager to take the opportunity of showing a specialist jury what they could paint in quiet attics without any artistic training. The praise and recognition of friends and relatives is not enough, they want the competent judgement of experts.

Hopes that entering a competition could bring them advice on how to improve their "primitive" attempts at art perhaps outweigh the desire to win prizes.

Amateur painters from almost all social levels entered the competition, the vast majority of them came from a simple background. None of them had ever had contact with an art expert.

White-collar workers, salesmen, gardeners, chemical workers, lorry-drivers, fitters, tailors, type-setters, electricians, *miners and car-workers* were to be found

SONNTAGSBLATT

among the 140 prize-winners along with a relatively large number of housewives.

Why do these people paint and how do they paint? "I began to paint when my husband died," a widow reported, "It gives me some sort of consolation."

Rolf Italiaander spoke of the consoling aspect of painting, a fact of medical importance, when awarding the prizes. "You can forget everything that is going on around you" expresses much the same feeling as "the pure joy at one's own creative work".

The inner urge to communicate means that the world in which we live is painted and a dream world is captured in picture.

The subject matter of naive artists is rarely abstract for this very reason even though the experience of colour may have been the actual impulse to paint and even though the artist may claim that his work is influenced by Kandinsky.

Since television has been able to report on art exhibitions, the influence of a painter or movement, though unrecognised as such by the artist, can be seen in his paintings.

But the result may still be naive. One example is *Vegetable ABC* by Philomena Wörgötter from the Tyrol, a work that must have been influenced by Arcimbolo as her *Glance at a Hat Shop* has been influenced by August Macke. Philomena is one of those people who wish to keep her dreams for herself. She does not want to sell any of her paintings.

Christof Steinbrecher has been in the armed forces for the past three years. So far he has sold about a hundred of his paintings.

"Have you any photographs of them? " I asked and he showed me a whole album full. There were many colour photographs among them showing horses, a woman lying, a head, landscapes and houses. Does this style betray the influence of the Brücke school?

"No," he replied, "I don't like Kirchner's colours, I like flowing forms."

Kandinsky was his master. His prize-winning *Egyptian Woman* bears a 150-Mark price tag.

"Is that your normal price? "

"I didn't specify a price, it was fixed by the exhibition organisers. My prices conform to my buyers' pockets. A poor person can buy one of my pictures at a lower price than a rich man."

"Would you go under 150 Marks? "

"Certainly, if the buyer is poor but would like to have a painting."

This young artist gives the impression of wanting to pass on to his buyers the joy he gets from painting. He aims to make his money from soldiering.

While we are speaking of prices, the majority of these spare-time painters do not aim to earn a lot of money from their hobby.

One taxi-driver influenced perhaps by de Chirico would like 200 Marks for his imaginative oil-painting of the Capitol. There is a bit too much detail on the canvas, a common failing in many of these artists' works.

Price is not an indication of quality. A bar-keeper has demanded the highest amount for one of his paintings – eight thousand Marks.

Italiaander laughs this off by saying that he probably wants to buy a new bar. Couldn't this be true? He needs this sum urgently and tries to raise it through his hobby.

A Wuppertal doctor is also more expensive than most of the other artists. He is demanding six thousand Marks for each of his two very original paintings.

In his *Heart Transplant* a doctor is confronted by Death and a scales on which two hearts form a balance. His other work was awarded one of the main prizes and shows a picture of Blaiberg with a long visible scar looking at his heart in a glass case.

The two pictures I would have brought away were among the group not for sale. *Nice Cow* by Dutch decorator Peter Morawietz shows a resting female figure in clogs with a stylised cow's head and a large victor's wreath round her neck.

A gaily waving ribbon in Dutch national colours, a windmill and a cat supplement the central figure showing that Morawietz has real talent.

He painted the most humorous painting in the exhibition, anyone looking at it will be unable to restrain a smile. If only I could hang it up at home – I would look at it every morning as soon as I woke up. What a pity!

The king of all the spare-time painters on show is probably soldier Udo Donadt with his large-size *Hippies at Hyde Park Corner*.



"Tree of Life" from Mexico

In composition, wealth of detail and explosive colour it bears all the genuine features of the best spare-time painting. It is naive in the sense of being still linked with nature. The scene is reproduced as accurately as possible. I would have liked to have seen him painting.

One of the main prizes was awarded to a socially critical painter. Rolf Hölter, a miner, depicts barbed wire, starving children, a legless man, a background of tanks and a burning monk. The work is masterfully painted but at the same time naive.

The exhibition contains a number of other paintings that are worth going to see out in Rade, situated in a natural park on the edge of Hamburg.

But a few very beautiful and very well constructed works seems to show that the artist has had some training. Otherwise it seems to be a unwritten law that spare-time painters never see the inside of art school.

I believe it in the case of engineer Bernhard Weber. Accurate drawing is part of his job. His *Ornament of Circles* (more than a thousand, he claims) could take its place in any exhibition of modern artists. But he does not want to earn money from his hobby. The 440 Marks asked for the work will be given to charity.

All the artists attending the opening ceremony were given a red flower for their buttonhole. Organiser Rolf Italiaander also wore one. He deserved it. His services to naive painting consist not only in collecting works of this type for years. He also brings the painters together. Communication is a favourite topic of discussion today. Rolf Italiaander creates it.

Liselotte Wischeropp

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 15 August 1971)

Ida Gaizová: "Slovakian Wedding" (Photos: Erich Andres)

Continued from page 6

them. They did not like the look of him at all. And there was already a danger that in the light of the gap in the theatrical market that had been discovered by Rainer Werner Fassbinder his theatre group would move on to progressive guest performances.

Fassbinder did not jump in the direction that was feared. He has now joined up with a regular theatre, Zadek's Bochumer Theater.

Recognition of the fact that there must be a lot of changes in the theatre in this country will quickly sweep away the last of the vestiges of deceptive self-satisfaction and a false sense of security.

There is a general lack of agreement about how the structures should be altered and indeed which. A number of theoretical patterns for actor participation in the management of theatres will fail to provide satisfactory results for as long as the basic requirements for all cooperative participation are lacking, namely complete systems for dissemination of information on how the business is run.

Actually it seems incredible that we still have to stress the point that in a public company, provided with public funds for a specific purpose, the public has a right to look into everything, absolutely everything, to do with business affairs.

But while even those who are involved in the theatre hardly have any opportunity to look into the running of the works and secrecy reigns in the theatres we have a long way to go before we come to far-reaching enlightenment.

This is the only possible way and it is a road we must follow if the theatre of the fifties is to be turned into a theatre suitable for the seventies. Otherwise the theatre is likely to degenerate the way the film of the fifties did.

(Deutsches Allgemeines Sonntagsblatt, 15 August 1971)

Entertainment tops list

Two thirds of Marburg theatre-goers go to the theatre to be entertained but 59 per cent of them approve of political theatre, a survey in the town shows.

Most of the answers – 38 per cent – came from school children and students under 25. They were followed in order of professional categories by civil servants, housewives, white-collar workers and blue-collar workers.

Eighty-six per cent of the theatre-goers interviewed stated that they discussed performances they see with friends and that they usually try and gain further information about the play and playwright.

Eighty per cent of them read in detail reviews of the plays they see.

(Die Welt, 9 August 1971)

■ EDUCATION

Experts discuss pre-school education at Bonn congress

An international conference held in Bonn during the summer holiday and attended by a few hundred guests will always make news even when political subjects are not discussed.

But when 1,500 delegates from 54 countries brave the oppressive heat for a week of discussions between 5 and 11 August, we must ask ourselves why.

The World Organisation for Education in Early Childhood met in Bonn for their thirteenth general meeting because the Federal Republic's National Committee under Dr Manfred Müller of Stuttgart invited them.

The Organisation's President, Professor Gaston Mialaret of France, explained the high attendance by pointing out that Germany had a long tradition in educating young children.

Perhaps there was also a certain amount of curiosity concerning the Federal Republic's coming educational reform that is much discussed abroad, curosity above all concerning the new plans for the pre-school education of West German children.

Dr Mimi Stahl, a woman member of the Educational Council, spoke to an attentive audience in the Beethovenhalle about pre-school education in the Federal Republic.

There are about fifteen thousand kindergartens in the Federal Republic with about a million places for children. A third of all three to six-year-olds attend kindergarten. Groups are limited to twenty or less as far as this is possible.

Socio-educational establishments have a staff of about fifty thousand. There are seven hundred kindergartens for six-year-olds who are not mature enough to attend full school classes.

There are also special schools for the retarded, the physically and mentally handicapped and those children whose development has been disturbed.

These facts and figures might have driven guests from the developing countries to envy and admiration but for West Germans it was a report that could provide an incentive for better achievements.

The rise in the number of applicants for socio-educational subjects is doubtlessly linked with the fact that people are beginning to view pre-school education as an important function of the community and are at the same time aiming for an early emancipating education. It is believed that an adult's feelings, thoughts and actions depend on his education as a child.

There is a strong anti-authoritarian element at work here. Tolerance, decision-making, experimentation, cooperation and co-responsibility are all practised to an increasingly greater extent in education, even to the point of breaking sexual taboos and teaching a child to be disobedient if the situation requires it.

In the education of young children this entails playing games with no fixed purpose other than to release forces and apply them in a creative field. Cooperation with classmates should give a child the ability to live in a community.

At the same time it is gradually being realised that educational games have been underrated in the past. That is why experimental programmes and trial classes are being arranged to give children their first educational lessons through play.

This is important above all for children from an underprivileged background as it is the only way that the aim of equal opportunities can really be achieved.

That is why kindergartens will in future prepare four-year-olds for school. When they are five they will then attend a school but will be free of the normal pressures of taking and passing examinations in their first two years there.

This is a compromise between the wish to allow children to play without didactic purpose at a pre-school age and the supposed necessity to teach children, voluntarily and through play of course, at an early age for the sake of equal opportunities. For many people the compromise poses a dilemma.

Foreign delegates at the conference were obviously interested in Dr Stahl's views on the subject that formed the central theme of the gathering: "The Educational Importance of Play in Early Childhood."

Another lecture was even more relevant. On the last day of the congress Alva Myrdal, the Swedish Minister of Disarmament and a former lady president of the organisation, spoke on "The Modern Competitive Society as an Opportunity and Danger to Children's Play."

Alva Myrdal conjured up a gloomy picture of the dangers facing children in an industrial society. They could be summed up in two words, she said – competition and possessiveness.

Competition plays a big role, too big a role in children's games today, prompted unintentionally by adults. Tests, team games and competitions rob children of the atmosphere of play for play's sake. It is always a question of success or failure.

A child is also programmed for the adult competitive society in fairy-tales, stories, children's films and children's television. He learns that competition is the be-all and end-all. Toys and games, often created by adults for no more than commercialist reasons, support this tedency.

It is difficult to accommodate children in the modern competitive society as they represent a completely different scale of values.

Without being able to make it clear, they are demanding that adults should give life a deeper meaning – the joy felt at life itself and being with other people.

If this is made the aim of education at a pre-school age, this could nip in the bud several conflict situations that develop in the adult world into an inconsiderate and selfish spirit of competition and materialism.

That is why Alva Myrdal calls for the children's world to be the complete

STUTTGARTER ZEITUNG

opposite of the adult society and its aims of productivity and efficiency. It should receive a special importance of its own.

In practice this would mean that most importance would be attached to play that had no direct educational influence.

All competition and all competitive sport would be abolished as would all games that arouse aggression. The cinema and television, in so far as they are accessible to children, would have to be rigorously cleansed of war, aggression, violence and brutality.

The effects of the adult world on that a children have hardly been examined. Alva Myrdal calls for this state of affairs to be rectified.

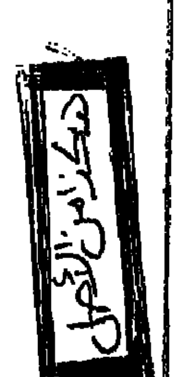
Anyone wishing to oppose the increasingly urgent problems of our competitive society with the play world of a child as a germ cell of a less aggressive type of person must investigate the importance of play at a pre-school age with all the means at his disposal and do everything to further it.

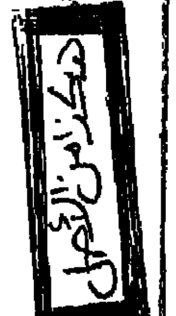
It is debatable whether the congress opened a new chapter in the history of education. No sensational resolutions were put forward.

But the majority of participants have returned home with a lot of ideas. The Swedish Minister's talk should have given West German delegates something to think about in view of the planned reform of pre-school education. Can it be based on the competitive society?

Bernhard [illegible]

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 August 1971)





University draws up science curriculum for primary schools

Göttingen University's Working Group for Education Research under Professor H. Roth and Dr H. Tütken is currently working on the compilation of a science curriculum for primary schools.

The Volkswagen Foundation of Hanover has provided 2.1 million Marks for this work which will revise the science syllabus for five to nine-year-olds, specify the aims of science teaching in primary schools and apply the results to educational material.

This project is part of the Institute's Elementary Education Curriculum programme prompted by the Volkswagen Foundation and sponsored by the body to the tune of 9.5 million Marks.

In this way the Foundation hopes to promote the scientifically controlled development and testing of educational games and materials for four to nine-year-olds and provide suitable supplementary material for parents and teachers.

The Working Group in Göttingen, working under the auspices of the University Education Department, plans to have developed a science curriculum for primary schools by 1978.

Explaining why it chose science, the working group stated that it believed that the traditional local history and nature study classes should be replaced by a scientifically-based curriculum.

The working group intends to develop an inter-disciplinary scientific curriculum that will help children appreciate the problems of their environment more fully by teaching them elementary procedures and facts.

These methods should enable the children to analyse effectively and, as far as possible, individually information about their natural environment.

It is hoped that a system of concepts will help them develop effective imaginative capabilities that will be of use in categorising and interpreting observations and experiences.

As the curriculum is planned for the five to nine age range, scientifically-based learning will begin at the pre-school stage and be continued throughout the following school years.

The research group is not working in isolation but is constantly exchanging its findings with other bodies, especially the American Association for the Advancement of Science and the Chair for Physics Education at the Lower Saxony College of Education in Brunswick where Professor Spreckelsen heads another project that has been sponsored by the Volkswagen Foundation to draw up a science curriculum for elementary schools.

The working group in Göttingen intends to develop its curriculum by experimental methods. The initial stages of planning and development will alternate with periods devoted to school experiments and revision.

The first stage will draw up the basic structure of the curriculum before experimental work begins in schools from the beginning of the 1972/73 school year with the help of teachers and educationalists in pre-school groups in Göttingen.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 11 August 1971)

ZOOLOGY

Molecular biology still poses problems

New discoveries are made in molecular biology almost every week and anyone looking superficially at the subject could easily gain the impression that we had a basically accurate idea of how life developed and how physical processes function.

We know about genes, nucleic acids, proteins and enzymes as information-carriers in the organism, we know about mutation and natural selection as decisive features in the development of the species.

Giessen zoologist W.E. Ankel has now shown that there is still a lot to be explained in this field. The example he has pointed to is small but impressive for all that.

Ankel has made a thorough examination of the turritella, a water snail, and its living and eating habits. The turritella has a tapering shell with which it bores into the mud so that only its mouth peers out from the sea bed.

Its body protrudes from the shell by just the amount required to suck water through the narrow gap between the body and the rim of the shell.

The turritella is a species of snail that does not graze but filters its nutrition from the water around it. The rim of its shell is covered by a ring of tentacles that draw the water in and at the same time prevent overlarge particles from entering.

The highly practical shell also possesses an aperture. The snail's back is covered with a horny skin that closes the shell when the snail has withdrawn into it. This "door" is not situated right at the opening of the shell but a little inside it offering maximum security when real danger threatens.

Even then the snail must breathe and its needs fresh water for this. It must therefore be able to open the door a little but the water it sucks in must contain only tiny particles as the nutritional organs are cramped together.

Ankel believes that the water used for obtaining oxygen is filtered by a ring of bristles to be found on the extreme edge of the turritella's horny skin and with a much finer texture than the tentacles on the rim of the shell.

The snail grows of course and the shell-door grows with it in concentric rings. With each of the annual rings, the ring of bristles becomes superfluous and a new ring has to grow on the new rim.

The astonishing thing is that the new bristles change shape as the snail grows older. They become longer and have lateral appendices so that the fineness of the filter always remains the same.

This is not the normal process of growth where the one section continues to grow to maturity. Instead it consists of a number of stages where each section is independent of the others and yields to the next one when the time comes. It is as if human hands did not grow but were re-formed from time to time in a somewhat more developed shape.

The points on the door rim where the bristles are formed do not therefore carry out the genetic order "Bristles!" but implement the plan "Bristles, if necessary with lateral appendices dependent on the diameter of the horny skin in order to maintain a constant filter effect."

This entails a large comprehensive programme involving inter-relationships between growth, function and individual development.

We know nothing of the natural process in the days of pre-history when the turritella evolved from its grazing predecessors.

The link between the code contained in the genes and the individual features may seem clear but the programming is obscure when it is not a question of these individual features but of a form or the system of interrelationships between innumerable features extending far beyond the snail and its environment.

It is easy to suggest that such a system of interrelationships is nothing other than a system of effects and counter-effects among a very large number of features and circumstances and that the whole question could be cleared up with the aid of a computer.

This optimism has been countered with great scepticism by the American biochemist Erwin Chargaff who has played a big part in research into nucleic acids.

He recently wrote, "I look out of the window and see a dog barking and wagging his tail. What is his molecular biology? Because of its readiness to explain everything modern biological teaching has made us blind to the fact that we know very little. It has given us the key to a very small area. I cannot help thinking that we still lack a whole dimension in our understanding of the living cell."

In other words, the sum of all features and circumstances that Man is able to control and perhaps change is not identical with the whole – a "whole dimension" is missing.

In view of such a supposition plans for the genetic improvement of Man are something like the announcement by a surgeon that he is to carry out amputations in future with hedgecutters.

Jan Hatje

(Die Zeit, 20 August 1971)

Bonn zoologists to examine mystery Peru creature

A rare, perhaps unknown animal is now being examined for classification by the Zoological Institute run by Bonn's Alexander Koenig Museum. Bonn ichthyologist Dr Karl-Heinz Lüling states that it is most probably a type of salamander.

A Bonn communications expert working in Peru on a development aid programme run by the Bonn Ministry of Posts and Telecommunications discovered the animal in the Amazon area of East Peru to the north-west of the village of Pucallpa on a stretch of the middle Rio Ucayali known as the Yarina Cocha, a bend in the river that is exceedingly rich in fish.

He found three black animals among a heap of bricks when the waters subsided after the rainy season. Two of the animals escaped but the third one was caught.

The animal, about a foot long, black, very ugly and incredibly fast, was completely unknown to the indigenous population. The communications expert, who is also an amateur zoologist, thought at first that it was a South American lung-fish of a type observed many times by Dr Lüling during expeditions on the Amazon.

But a number of features suggest that it is a type of salamander. It has no upper jaw bone and no pelvic girdle. But on the other hand the animal does not possess the characteristic rudimentary gills and front legs of a salamander.

The animal has been X-rayed but only more thorough examinations will show whether it does indeed belong to the Sirenian family (named after the notorious Sirens of ancient mythology who tried unsuccessfully to ensnare Ulysses on his travels) or whether it is an unknown amphibian species.

The black animal has little in common with the Sirens of Classical legend however. It possesses no great beauty and its voice cannot be described as enchanting. The few sounds it makes are more like the yelps usually made by salamanders.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 August 1971)

Beetles speak to each other, researchers reveal

Researchers here have recently been able to show for the first time that beetles have a sense of hearing. C. Niemitz of the Max Planck Institute for Brain Research in Frankfurt and A. Krampe of Giessen University's zoology department report in the July edition of the science journal *Die Naturwissenschaften* that they were able to prove this fact in experiments on burying beetles (necrophorus), a carnivore species common in Germany.

Bio-acoustic tests conducted during an "argument" between two of these beetles showed that one of them was producing louder and longer noises than the other and also pausing longer between the individual sounds.

The researchers then concluded that the chirping sound was a means of communication perhaps necessary when a conflict threatens between two members of the same species.

As the burying beetles' conversations often take place underground when the two partners are several inches away from each other, contact through smells or visual means can be ruled out. The beetles therefore hear one another.

Not only adult beetles but larvae too can hear the acoustic signals and thus orientate themselves according to their parents' chirping.

The burying beetle is probably the most highly developed form of beetle as far as care of the young is concerned. The recently obtained findings about communication between parents and young fit in well with the picture we already have of these beetles.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 16 August 1971)

Government bans DDT

The Cabinet has decided to ban the production, import, export, purchase and use of DDT and DDT preparations. A number of DDT preparations will be exempted from the ban until the end of 1975 if they are needed to fight the spread of pests such as fleas, lice and pharaoh ants and if no adequate substitutes are available.

Foodstuffs and cosmetics with more than a certain quantity of DDT deposits will also be withdrawn from circulation.

DDT is a threat to human beings, the government states in defence of the ban. It causes states of irritation in the central nervous system as well as convulsions.

Use of more than a million tons of DDT in the past has resulted in the substance being present today in the air, water, soil, plants, animals and humans.

Professor Ludwig von Manger-König, the State Secretary in the Health Ministry, told journalists in Bonn that people's health could be damaged in view of the prevalence of DDT in the environment and the storage of this poison in the human organism.

The DDT ban is viewed by the government as an important step towards the improvement of conservation measures.

(Die Welt, 20 August 1971)

Researchers develop anti-mosquito bite serum

Frankfurter Rundschau

Entomologists are poor prophets. None of them can forecast whether the forty types of gnat living in this country alone will multiply at a great rate this year or not.

Certain indications suggest that they may. People living on the banks of Hamburg's waterways and inhabitants of the whole North German Plain sullenly register the vast swarms of gnats that seem to increase from day to day.

Fortunately not all types of gnat bite. Many of these insects that jig around street lamps at night are completely harmless and their buzzing is the only thing that causes irritation.

Even among the aggressive types there are harmless examples. Males, unlike females, have no bite.

When a gnat has bitten a person and filled itself up with blood, a sharp secretion flows into the wound, probably formed from the insect's own poisons and coagulant agents.

If this procedure remains undisturbed, both the gnat and its victim are unharmed. The secretion in the skin only causes an unpleasant itch that soon dies down.

If the insect is alarmed or flicked away, it discharges more acid and flies off without its proboscis. This foreign body causes the skin to swell or inflame.

There are a number of more or less recommendable treatments including liquid ammonia, a vinegar solution, raw onions, cold compresses or quite simply a quantity of saliva. People allergic to bites and stings must be treated by their family doctor with anti-histamines or cortisone.

An effective system of prevention would of course be better. But is there such a thing? The old Germanic tribes tried to protect themselves with a solution of birchwood tar.

In the south the leaves of the walnut tree are supposed to repel gnats while the Indians swear by hashish and hemp-bushes.

As methods like this can rarely be used today the modern pharmaceutics industry has looked in recent years for a substance to repel gnats and has found one. A preparation that is completely harmless to human beings can repel the insects for anything up to eight hours.

The substance – "Autan" – has been tested under extreme conditions. Scientists from the Max Planck Institute for Behavioural Research in Seewiesen used it during an expedition to the Galapagos.

Dr Eberhard Curio, the leader of the expedition, afterwards reported on its effect to the makers: "Autan was of particular help when working in the open. It repelled gnats and small flies for hours during the rainy season when they were particularly common."

When the Federal Health Bureau in Berlin tested the anti-gnat substance the reactions of the insect were closely observed. After the substance was sprayed on the skin the number of gnats in the area was particularly high.

The gnats did not settle on the skin but only skimmed the surface. Numbers decreased after about five minutes and after about fifteen minutes no insect approached the area.

The trouble taken by the researchers has therefore been worthwhile. Autan has now been used successfully in most European countries.

Petra Sternberg/PAM

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 20 August 1971)

■ FINANCIAL AFFAIRS

America pulls out all the stops to aid the dollar



The strong potion President Nixon has administered to curb inflation and unemployment in the United States and to put the dollar back into a respectable position abroad will have worldwide economic and also political effects which cannot be described in detail. All we can be sure about is that the international monetary system is about to have the acid test applied.

To regain mastery over inflation Richard Nixon can see no alternative to the hotly contested wage and price freeze for 90 days.

Just how much bureaucracy will be needed to see that this measure is adhered to? In certain spheres a "grey market" is likely to be the result.

A ten per cent surcharge on about half of all imports into the USA, something that protectionists have demanded for a long time, is primarily intended to improve the employment situation in America. But unemployment in the States has to a large extent social origins. It is in a way a result of the race problem.

As a result of the great rate of price increases in the United States cheaper imported goods have always been able to corner a large section of the market at the expense of home grown industries.

This artificial throttling of imports is intended at the same time to get to grips *with the balance of payments problem* now that the United States is facing for the first time a deficit on exports and imports.

This package of measures is also an (indirect) confirmation that from time to time the Western world loses faith in the dollar. By suspending the gold standard President Nixon has violated one of the bases of our currency system. It is the end of the guarantee of the US treasury to exchange gold for dollars in dealings with central banks at any time at a fixed rate of $ 35 per ounce. Obviously Nixon fears that countries in the West might take the USA at its word and demand gold for the weaker and weaker dollar. This would lead to the bankruptcy of the dollar. By means of a kind of pauper's oath the United States is attempting to avoid such a bankruptcy.

Although it is a welcome development that America has decided to take steps to clear up its economic mess and bolster the foundations of the dollar which has been tottering for years, it is doubtful whether these measures can be implemented without making life too hot for all those countries whose currencies depend on the dollar.

Our currency system which is closely interwoven with frictionless world trade has been shaken by any number of crises which have underlined the weaknesses inherent in it. But instead of carrying out sweeping reforms we have contented ourselves with patching up the old material now and again.

No one dared to cast doubt on the dollar which was one of the pillars on which our monetary system rested along with gold. But the system can only function properly when the standard currency, the dollar, is trustworthy.

Of course behind the dollar there still stands the most powerful industrial nation in the world. But what is the use of industrial power when this is constantly undermined by inflation?

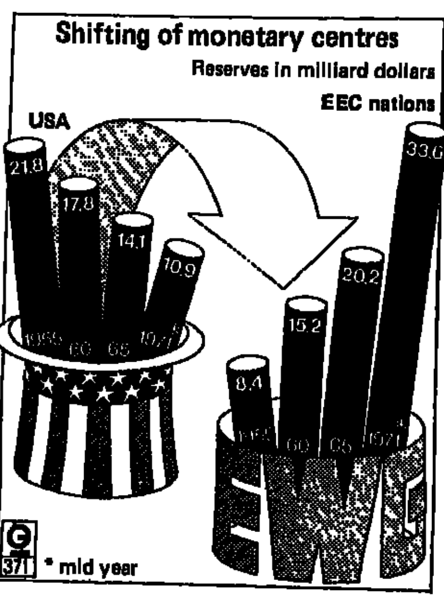
Up until now the Americans have categorically refused any form of devaluation of the dollar. The position of the United States in the world made such a loss of prestige untenable.

Alongside atomic power the dollar has been the second pillar of America's international greatness, but now US Secretary to the Treasury, John Connally, cannot rule out a devaluation completely.

The Europeans' behaviour in this situation has been impeccable. They did not simply get rid of their surplus dollars as their value fell by exchanging them for gold, partly out of gratitude for American aid after the war and partly as a result of gentle political pressure.

As the late Karl Blessing, former Bundesbank president, said in an interview the threat of a reduction of American forces in Europe always hung over currency talks. The only country that attempted to spite the United States with a national monetary policy was de Gaulle's France which got into difficulties itself.

In fact the dollar has already been devalued and the American President has come out strongly in favour of basic reforms of the world's monetary system. It is not yet clear what role the dollar will play in this. It is hard to imagine a currency with the stigma of devaluation



remaining the central currency in a monetary system. The sick dollar needs time to recover and should be given time.

The dictatorial interference in free trade by the USA in setting up import barriers has given rise to a sense of horror in the rest of the world. One of the chief factors in the increasing productivity and hence prosperity of industrial nations was a continued freeing of markets. Now we are threatened with a trade war in which everyone will be the loser.

However much the Bonn government tries to prevent hysteria the Federal Republic has been hit directly by Nixon's powerful medicine. With the floating of the Mark which had the effect of upvaluing our currency against the dollar our exports to America have already become seven to eight per cent dearer. With America's ten per cent import surcharge this makes German products 18 per cent dearer in America. We can expect further losses in America, one of our most important export markets.

Those losses could have a lasting detrimental effect on the West German economy. When export markets are endangered there is also a risk of unemployment arising, at least in those sectors that depend largely on exports to America. Without doubt the advocates of tax reliefs and export subsidies will make themselves heard.

And in the forthcoming wage talks the trade unions will undoubtedly claim that a further wave of price rises is now inevitable, particularly automobile and machinery industries. The question is how the unions and particularly the militant IG Metall will react.

The idea that a loss of exports can be counteracted by increasing purchasing power at home with haphazard wage increases is too naive for words. The next few weeks will be decisive. *Malte Retlet*

(Kölner Stadt-Anzeiger, 17 August 1971)

East Bloc criticism of US fiscal measures is irrelevant

Needless to say the East Bloc countries greeted America's economic measures to save the dollar with scorn and *Schadenfreude*, as was to be expected, and with equal predictability the German Democratic Republic led the chorus of guffaws.

Neues Deutschland did not miss the trick of accusing the Federal Republic of being an accomplice in the passing of dud cheques (meaning dollars that were not backed up by the gold standard) since this country "continued to buy up several dozen millions of dollars in order to protect parity".

What better could be expected of dim-witted officialdom that has to mark its own horizon with a wall? Could we expect them to come up with anything more original in response to the American measures than to make odious comments on radio and television and in the press.

The GDR in fact has been hit by the American measures itself. The value of the dollar as expressed in the price of gold is a yardstick of world trade prices for the East Bloc as well and at the recent complicated discussions at the meeting of the Comecon Council in Bucharest a monetary programme was embarked upon with the "transferable rouble" as the central currency, a currency which was to have an expressed gold content.

The difference between gold content and gold cover appears to be as alien to currency experts in the GDR as a comprehension of its own currency programme.

Must it be pointed out again that the Comecon countries are today almost thirty years after Bretton Woods slowly coming to building up a similar system so that in a further ten years they will have reached at least amongst themselves that same degree of currency convertibility that Western Europe has been enjoying since 1958?

Must it again be pointed out that under this system over a half of the American gold reserve at the end of the war have since then been transferred to Europe and that they have formed a respectable sum of currency reserves in Western European countries not to mention the additional dollar credit?

The East Bloc countries — and chief among them the GDR — have today not even got freely available rouble reserves within their own socialist economy, not to mention gold, for even in the Soviet Union foreign trade with the transferable rouble as the central currency is still a long-term aim scheduled to be effective from 1980 onwards.

President Nixon is not likely to lose much sleep over accusations of having passed dud cheques in *Neues Deutschland* and those who have reserves of dollars will not consider the suspension of gold standard by the Federal Reserve Board as the passing of bouncing cheques for as long as it is possible to buy goods freely in the United States, at least, with dollars.

Rolf Lüke

(Die Welt, 19 August 1971)

US protectionist measures hit Bonn's exports

It was like lightning striking when West German exporting industry heard of the protectionist import surcharge levied by the Americans. The United States is the third most important trade partner of the Federal Republic after France and the Netherlands. Its sales to the USA in 1970 totalled 11,[illegible] million Marks.

Another factor that is as significant is that according to statistics drawn up in this country 10,500 million Marks of this sum, or more than ninety per cent, is in the form of finished goods.

According to the reports received from America so far it is finished products that are likely to be affected by the protectionist measures. The Americans have stated that they do not intend to subject products that are imported free of customs duty to the surcharge.

This means that about fifty per cent of American imports, an estimated 4[illegible] million dollars this year, will be affected. Since the present import duty on these goods is on average about ten per cent the new import levy will mean that the burden of duty on these goods will approximately double.

In addition to this West German industry is having to cope with an upvaluation of the Mark which is at present between seven and eight per cent. Initial reports state that no one can suggest how our industry is going to cope with the extra burden affecting exports to America.

This will particularly affect branches that rely heavily on exports, such as the motor industry and heavy machinery which last year exported respectively 4,600 and 1,900 million Marks to the United States.

The machinery construction industry alone exported 7.2 per cent of its total sales abroad to America. America is the fourth most important trading partner for sectors of the economy such as textile machinery, office equipment and machine tools. Volkswagen will be particularly badly hit since it exports approximately one third of its total production to the United States.

Many companies including Volkswagen have not yet issued statements since the effect of the new burdens cannot be calculated from reports so far received from America.

The word in Bonn is that President Nixon can only raise import levies by ten per cent on such products as had their duty lowered by ten per cent at least in recent years. On cars, for example, the import duty has been lowered in recent years from ten to at present 3.5 per cent.

Accordingly the import surcharge on cars can only be raised by 6.5 per cent to the old level of ten per cent.

In addition it must be remembered that President Nixon has also asked Congress to remove temporarily the seven per cent purchase tax on cars so that in the end the import of foreign cars to America may be even slightly cheaper. But of course this cheapness will also apply to American-produced cars so that their prices would compare favourably with imported vehicles.

The effect of an increase of import duties on sales was shown by the "chicken war" (when the Americans complained about import levies on chickens into the Common Market) of 1962. The tax burden on Volkswagen transporters was increased three-fold and in the following year West German exports to America dropped to a third of their previous level.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 17 August 1971)

LABOUR

Profit-sharing schemes are not plain sailing

It is one of the strange contradictions of Bonn policies that plans for the accumulation of capital wealth in private hands should be put into practice at the precise moment when depreciation of the value of money has reached a level that is uncommonly high for the circumstances in this country.

Even in the circles of those State secretaries who are among the fiercest champions of the cause of capital wealth in the hands of John Citizen it has been recognised that much of the capital accumulated with the help of State schemes will be destroyed by the depreciation in the value of the Mark.

Ministers who make their main concern the stability of the value of our currency are doing infinitely more for the cause of accumulation of capital wealth in the possession of the man-in-the-street than those who are prepared to swallow inflation for the sake of far-reaching and expensive reform ideas.

The question of private capital accumulation has increasingly got caught up in the false web of ideologies, which has been shown again by the response to the so-called Krelle Report, which stated that 1.7 per cent of the population possesses 73 per cent of productive wealth in this country.

As it says in a trade union journal, "the rich have got richer and the poor, like the song says, poorer".

Another source stated: "The scandal continues." Critics such as these are not influenced in the slightest by the fact that a judgement of the division of wealth in this country cannot be based simply and solely on productive wealth.

A year ago the Bundesbank pointed out that when all aspects of wealth are taken into account approximately 98 per cent of families in this country hold 65 per cent of the total private wealth.

In the "extrapolation" for the years 1960 to 1966 drawn up by Professor Siebke there is mention of "a somewhat more equal and wider spreading of total private capital wealth".

But the critics have paid just as little attention to this as to the assertion in the Siebke Report dealing with nominal accumulation of capital, inequality and differences in per capita wealth and how these can be broken down.

This marks the beginning of a clear process of change that has almost certainly continued up to the present day at an even greater rate.

Every formulator of social services policies who has insight knows that the effects of a policy to promote the accumulation of capital wealth in private hands can only bite over a long period if the basic structure of the economy is to be maintained.

If, for example, eight years ago or as little as five years ago the example of the building trade had been followed and in all other economic spheres wage tariff agreements with effective clauses for capital accumulation had been agreed then by this means alone substantial monies would have been collected for employees and the discussion today would be carried on against a completely different background.

But the initiative shown by the then building workers' leader Georg Leber fell flat in other branches of the economy as a result of the attitudes of both the employers and the trade unions.

Recently a number of wage scales have been worked out which provide measures for effective accumulation of capital wealth in the hands of the workers. The result of these moves over the next ten to twenty years should be borne in mind by all these who venture into new plans.

Furthermore in discussions of policies for promoting the accumulation of capital wealth in private hands another point that has been hushed up time and again is that the sum of money collected by social welfare and pension insurances, estimated at something like a million millions and thus a large proportion of productive wealth, is one of the most secure and valuable deposits of wealth.

Years ago Professor Bombach coined the term "Sozialvermögen". Anyone who can escape from the ties of ideologies must admit that this very lump of capital would cover the most elementary interests of working people.

It is enough to cover them in the first place for old age and times of hardship.

Now that plans are being discussed that provide for a dissemination of capital wealth based on profits and investments there is the danger that this source of productivity will be blocked and it has, among other things, helped to provide for the building up of this Sozialvermögen.

For all these reasons it is important to take up a decisive position at long last which would go further than the unsatisfactory foundations provided for by the Krelle Report.

In the report by the Bonn government on the accumulation of capital wealth in private hands that has not yet been published it is expressly stated that, "data about the accumulation and stocks of capital wealth and the way in which reforms of this kind can be financed are not sufficient to answer the questions that are put time and again in discussions with the public."

Only when the resources and the division of capital wealth to date have been estimated accurately and based on realistic figures will it be possible to see productive capital in the right light. Only then will calm, free and unprejudiced discussion be possible. Certainly it is difficult for a free society to imagine that this productive capital will be further concentrated in the hands of a certain small group, reinherited and thus passed on to a new generation of company owners.

The question of a more equal division of productive capital is still topical even though it has been asserted that the division of overall wealth now includes a far higher degree of justice than could have been ascribed to it in the past.

It must be made possible for everyone to enter into the circles of those who have funds for running a production company. And workers must be shown clearly how great the risk involved in possessing precisely this capital wealth is. They must be asked whether they are prepared to run this risk.

It is precisely this risk which guarantees that life-giving change is brought to those areas where capital wealth was concentrated and that there is not a simple inheritance from one generation to the next.

It has been said on occasions that an alteration to the division of capital wealth for producer purposes can only be brought about by political intervention. Certainly legislation is necessary to turn savers who already have accumulated cash in an account into participants in company management.

There are plans of this kind outside economic circles as well. So far industrialists as a group have not done anything to put these plans into effect and thus extract discussions on the division of wealth from the ideological web.

Now there is a danger that the decision will be taken from a political point of view and not from an economic standpoint and that people will let themselves be led by moods rather than by the extraordinarily manifold but difficult-to-grasp facts that surround this subject.

Ernst Günter Vetter

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 August 1971)

160,000 people own 90 per cent of shares issued

About fifteen million workers are at present taking advantage of the 624-Mark Law (tax exemption on the first 624 Marks of income if this is put into savings) in order to accumulate capital wealth.

But at the same time ninety per cent of all shares and investment certificates are in the hands of just 160,000 West Germans.

The Bonn government plans to introduce a law in October that will provide a basis for shifting the emphasis of shareholdings, according to State Secretary Ehrenberg in an interview.

The *following plan has* been devised to spread out capital wealth over a wider area.

Starting at a certain level of annual profits companies will make available proportions of their profits in the form of cash, shares or loans.

Employees will be able to obtain shares in these funds with their own interest at ten per cent.

(Neue Ruhr Zeitung, 10 August 1971)

Women at work in the EEC

Frankfurter Rundschau

In the six countries of the Common Market 34.6 per cent of the labour force is comprised of the fairer sex, but according to the figures issued by the EEC liaison office in Bonn the figures for the individual countries vary considerably.

France has the most women workers, 37 per cent of the labour force. Next comes the Federal Republic where 34 per cent of the working population consists of women. Belgium's total working population consists of 28 per cent women and in Italy the figure is 27 per cent.

Only 23 per cent of the people at work in the Netherlands are of the fairer sex.

The figures differ just as widely in the four EEC applicant countries. In Denmark 37 in every hundred workers are women, in Britain the figure is thirty-five per cent, in Eire 26 per cent and in Norway 23.

On a regional basis, too, the figures vary widely. Parisiennes top the list, no less than 55 per cent of women in the French capital between the ages of fourteen and 59 go out to work. The lowest quota of women workers, twenty per cent, is in Dutch Frisia and on Sicily and Sardinia.

In all countries there is a preponderance of women in the service industries. And it seems a commonplace throughout the Common Market that women get less money than men for the same work.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 14 August 1971)

Pre-65 pension option favoured

Most people in this country consider the introduction of a flexible age of retirement, the opportunity to choose at which age you will start drawing a pension, to be more important than other reform measures on the labour front.

A survey was taken of a fair cross-section by the *Infas* public opinion research organisation in Bad Godesberg, near Bonn, and it was discovered that 51 per cent of people in this country consider the introduction of a flexible retiring age more important than the other possible reforms along these lines.

Infas stated recently in Bonn that only thirteen per cent of those questioned considered it more important to extend the State pension to groups that do not at present receive it, such as housewives and the self-employed.

Twenty-three per cent stated that in their opinion the most pressing need was to increase the amount of pensions to about double the present level. Of the thousand people surveyed thirteen per cent had no comment to make on this matter.

(Frankfurter Rundschau, 17 August 1971)

More help for older workers

Frankfurter Allgemeine

Talks between both sides of industry, employers and workers, have led to an agreement whereby older workers are *to be given necessary help, it was stated* in Bonn recently.

A research project has been undertaken for the further development of personnel planning. In addition to this special schemes are to be advised for small, medium-sized and larger companies.

The demands that have been made on the laws governing working condition in the past two years have been quite unprecedented. This legislation has been brought into play on a vastly increased number of occasions.

According to the "promotion law" a worker has a right to demand promotion. As a result of this 450,000 employees claimed further professional training or retraining, which is their right, in the period 1 July 1969 to March 1971.

In 1968 the number of claims for professional promotion and further training handed in at labour exchanges in this country was on average about 5,900 a month. In March 1971 no less than 37,462 such claims were made.

According to the Parliamentary State Secretary at the Ministry of Labour this trend showed that the job performed by labour exchanges was gradually shifting in emphasis from being places where workers are matched with jobs to places where career furtherance is arranged.

Figures recently published by the Ministry of Labour in Bonn show just how great the group of workers in the older age bracket, over 44 years, is in comparison with the overall labour force in the Federal Republic and what the trend is likely to be employment-wise for this group in the future.

By 1980 there should be 860,000 more workers than in 1968 over the age of forty-four.

This means the percentage of workers in this older age bracket as compared with the national labour force will have risen from twenty-eight per cent in 1968 to 30.5 per cent in 1980.

(Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung für Deutschland, 13 August 1971)



■ MOTORING

Siegfried Steiger campaigns for better ambulance services on autobahns

Day by day sixty people die on the country's roads. A traffic accident occurs every thirty seconds. Someone is injured on the roads every minute and there is a road death every twenty minutes. Last year 19,123 people died on the roads. Eight thousand of them could have survived if only the ambulance service were better.

Siegfried Steiger, whose nine-year-old son Björn was killed in a traffic accident in May 1969, has proved that private initiative can be of some effect in combating death on the roads and can force lawmakers to act.

Two months after his son's death Steiger, an architect, set up the Björn Steiger Foundation in Winnenden, Württemberg, a charity that has already raised more than a million Marks to improve ambulance facilities.

His idea is to combine private donations and public pressure to persuade the powers that be to loosen the public purse strings.

In practice what the foundation does is to collect money and plough every penny into intercom devices, insulating sheets and the like for the ambulance service.

Over a period of six months Siegfried Steiger also organised a pilot ambulance project in his home state of Baden-Württemberg and offered to foot the bill of conversion work involved in standardising 110 as the emergency telephone number.

Baden-Württemberg will now have a uniform, state-wide emergency number by the end of 1972. Steiger's initiative was also instrumental in inducing the state government to introduce in November 1970 a state-wide emergency ambulance service programme providing for sixteen million Marks' investment by 1974.

By way of comparison one need only add that in 1969 the Federal and state governments between them spent a mere 3.6 million Marks on the ambulance service.

This financial shot in the arm is intended for equipping ambulance services with standardised vehicles and intercom and training ambulance crews.

Baden-Württemberg also proposes to build heliports at all hospitals with emergency wards and to investigate the feasibility of sending doctors out with the ambulances. Federal roads are also to be provided with a network of emergency telephones and the system of emergency phones is to be improved.

Hardly had this programme been published but Siegfried Steiger raised another objection. In 1970 the Federal Minister of Posts and Telecommunications had proposed to make the emergency phone network a Federal government responsibility. As a result the states had abandoned their own efforts, arguing that Bonn was now responsible, particularly where footing the bill was concerned.

The Federal Finance Minister promptly refused to foot the bill because, he maintained, the finances remained a state responsibility. "The urgency of the scheme is general knowledge," Steiger complained, "but the powers that be are busy arguing the toss as regards finances again."

Federal Transport Minister Georg Leber accordingly appointed Siegfried Steiger a member of the Road Safety Council and made him responsible for a sub-committee on accident aid and the ambulance service.

Steiger's very first move came as a shock to the Minister. He submitted a design for a special postage stamp with a surcharge to help finance emergency telephones at regular intervals along trunk roads.

Herr Leber rejected the proposal on the ground that commemmorative issues had already been decided on. Philatelists, he said, were opposed to the idea of any more special issues.

Siegfried Steiger has since made contact with the national executive of the stamp-collectors' association with the aim of gaining support for a special "Help Save Lives" issue.

He is also working on country-wide introduction of a network of roadside emergency phones, reorganisation of the schedules of police doctors on emergency call and the drafting of Federal legislation to make it all legally binding.

"No one feels responsible for the ambulance service," Steiger, a Saxon by birth and Swabian by choice, comments. "The Federal government is not responsible. The state governments leave it to charitable organisations. There is no coordination between charitable organisations and they have no money in any case. The result is that the ambulance service hobbles along as well as it can manage."

On 7 July, the second anniversary of the establishment of the foundation, Siegfried Steiger inaugurated the first emergency telephone financed by his organisation in Leukershausen on the frontier between Bavaria and Württemberg.

In order to make it morally incumbent on the Federal and state governments to erect emergency telephones along all major Federal and state highways the foundation intends to fully equip Federal highway 14 between Nuremberg and Stuttgart with emergency phones.

This is not the only instance of Steiger's tactical skill. Since autumn 1970 Stuttgart has successfully run an ambulance with a doctor on board. The Steiger Foundation has just made the city a present of a second ambulance costing some 82,000 Marks on condition that it is on continual call at one of the municipal hospitals.

The city authorities lamented that they had neither staff nor funds to run the ambulance but at the same time [illegible] wanted to look a gift horse in the [illegible]. The result was a public debate [illegible] whether every administrative distr[illegible] the state ought not to run at least [illegible] ambulance staffed by a doctor on [illegible]gency call.

The carrot and the stick, the com[illegible]tion of a present and the harnessing [illegible] public opinion, are also appa[illegible] Siegfried Steiger's declared intent[illegible] fitting out all public telephone kios[illegible] Winnenden with a device to enable [illegible] emergency calls to be made free [illegible] charge. This is the way Steiger starts [illegible] ball rolling.

(Hannoversche Allgemeine, 13 August 197[illegible])



Siegfried Steiger (Photo: [illegible])

One in three is a car owner

On 1 July last this country ha[illegible] one motor vehicle to every [illegible] inhabitants and one private car [illegible] head of population, according to sta[illegible] published by the Motor Vehicle Regis[illegible]tion Office in Flensburg.

In relation to the country's 413,000-odd kilometres of open road this amounts to 47 motor vehicles, including 31 private and estate cars, per kilometre of road.

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 13 August 197[illegible])

130,000 million Marks to reduce night traffic noise

At a cost of 130,000 million Marks the noise of night traffic on every road in the country could be reduced to the level of rustling leaves, public works director Kayser of the Rhenish regional association claims.

The simplest means of abating noise, he says, is to build embankments on either side of the road. Soundproofing by means of plants and bushes would involve strips of vegetation eighty to 100 metres wide alongside the road.

The current five-year roadbuilding plan, it must be added, provides for a mere 29,500 million Marks' worth of improvements to trunk roads.

Soundproof fences, Herr Kayser feels, are out of the question. An eight-metre (26ft) fence would not cut the decibel count by any appreciable amount. Embankments, on the other hand, are not "only" a matter of money; they also presuppose that room is available.

Another possibility which is, however, considered impracticable would be to impose speed limits for noise abatement reasons. From the noise viewpoint the ideal speed for private cars is between seventy and eighty kilometres an hour (45-50mph), or fifty to sixty (30-35mph) where there is a high proportion of goods traffic.

(Neue Hannoversche Presse, 19 August 1971)

100 kilometres per hour on main ro[illegible] would be an ideal compromise

A new road-sign by the side of the autobahn proclaims "80-110 km/h" in white on a blue background. Introduced earlier this year in the new highway code, it will be a newcomer for most motorists, as is the idea it implements, that of a recommended speed.

The sign neither issues a mandatory instruction nor imposes a binding ban, it is merely a recommendation. The speed suggested is best suited for making optimum headway while neither exasperating other road-users by dawdling nor upsetting others by speeding.

The recommended speeds on these signs that now border both autobahns and trunk roads with central reservations are the work of roadbuilders.

Officials of the various public works departments work out what speeds are best for the roads they plan. These so-called design speeds form the basis of the new road-signs.

Design speed is a key concept in roadbuilding. An estimated speed forms part of any roadbuilding project. On country roads it is generally forty to sixty or eighty kilometres an hour (thirty to fifty mph) and on autobahns between eighty and 120 (fifty and 75 mph).

The speed varies, though, and is influenced by a variety of factors ranging from the country (flat or mountainous) and the traffic (heavy goods vehicles or fast private cars) to the overall traffic concept.

Once the speed has been decided on however, the consequences are far-reaching. The entire road is designed as though the estimated speed were the upper limit.

Corners are laid out with the design speed in mind. At eighty kilometres an hour, for instance, a radius of 250 metres is taken as read. Motorists who drive faster stand to run into trouble.

On inclines the angle of vision is so designed that vehicles can be brought to a halt should obstacles be sighted over the top.

Camber is designed accordingly and even the size and lettering of road-signs depends on the estimated design speed.

Even lane width is correlated to the speed. On autobahns with a projected speed in excess of 100 kilometres an hour, for instance, standard lane width is 3.75 metres, or roughly thirteen feet.

Yet most motorists have never heard of design speeds. A design engineer with a Swabian motor manufacturer complained to the roadbuilders that the cat's eyes on roadside posts along the country road he drove home on of an evening tended to blur.

„What you need are bigger posts with bigger reflectors," he claimed. "What speed do you drive at?" the roadbuilder asked. "A hundred and sixty (100 [illegible]" the auto engineer proudly replied. [illegible]

The roadbuilder paled. The [illegible] question had been designed [illegible] estimated speed of sixty kilome[illegible] hour.

But how was the motorist to [illegible] There were no road-signs to ind[illegible] him how great the danger was [illegible] regularly on his way home.

Upper speed limits (which [illegible] higher than the design speed) [illegible] prescribed at a few particularly da[illegible] points. They ought to be general[illegible] between forty and 120 kilome[illegible] hour (25 and 75 mph), as has lo[illegible] the case in, say, the United States.

It is unlikely that a single non-[illegible] trunk road exists anywhere in th[illegible] try on which higher speeds do no[illegible] unwarranted danger. As a general [illegible] design speed is less than 100 kil[illegible] an hour.

Viewed in this context the Mini[illegible] Transport's proposal for a upper [illegible] limit of 100 (62.5 mph) on all road[illegible] are not autobahns may, perhaps, b[illegible] to oversimplify matters but it repre[illegible] compromise that can only be welco[illegible]

Dieter St[illegible]

(Die Zeit, 20 August [illegible])

■ TELEVISION

Too much crime and violence on the TV screen

Tarzan, the beaming blond hero, the symbol of all that is good and clever in the white man, the incarnation of the charitable and helpful man, grabs a board and presses it hard against the throat of his adversary whom he was already thrown to the ground. He presses and presses until the other man lets out a fearful last cry and expires.

Tarzan once again is involved a battle against narcotics smugglers and is overpowered by his adversaries. He is bound and taken to a dark, damp cavern where he is brutally beaten and tortured until he collapses lifeless.

A horde of "slave hunters" attacks a village of negroes, sets fire to the husts, shoots wildly in all directions and leaves behind clearly visible numorous corpses. The surviving are roped together by their necks and taken into captivity. Most of them are children.

These are not grim fairytales. They are scenes from television programmes shown in the afternoon in this country. We know for sure that at this time of day children are sitting before the screen with eager eyes watching all that the adult world has to offer them in the way of entertainment.

Tarzan goes out on Saturdays all over the country. If this is not enough in the way of educating children about how brutal the world can be there are the Sunday *Rauchende Colts* and *Die Leute von der Shiloh Ranch*. These serve to intensify the impressions that were given by the previous day's fare.

A taste: Two men lay about each other wildly with thumping punches to the chin and the guts. The loser suffers planks, chairs and other blunt instruments smashed about his ears. He ends up lying motionless on the floor.

The victor pulls his hat down on to his head and with an air of satisfaction strides away manfully leaving his victim unattended.

Another morsel: The father of a family is blackmailed by a band of killers. At first the scene is not brutal in itself. The brutality is in the threat, the ice-cold eyes of the gangsters, their cynical way of speaking, their obvious readiness to rape the daughter and kill the mother. In the end the sheriff sees to it that the right people die and the rest live happily ever after. Once again good has triumphed over evil.

The few crimes that are not committed in the weekend afternoon programmes are amply provided for in the evening fare on weekdays! Murder rears its ugly head in countless variations, all the refinements of torture are given a run-through, kidnappers do their dirty-work, banks do not remain unrobbed. Nothing is missing, nothing at all.

Now, however, the cup runneth over. Not content with bumping off a few actors, who survive several deaths and return to be killed again and again the news programme on TV recently brought us the true-life drama of a bank-raid in Munich. Horrified people looked on. They were not too horrified to look on! And the TV cameras brought the spectacle to a mass audience. Joy o joy, *real* corpses to goggle at.

Figures are available for the small-screen crime rate. Each week the decent upright living rooms of the Federal Republic witness on average 416 crimes, all committed by the goggle-box. The casualties are high: an average of 103 dead.

A small minority of these are German crimes and German bodies – most of the cowboy and Indian, and cops and robbers sagas come from the Anglo-Saxon world.

But home-produced or imported, no matter, this material is happily consumed in regular doses by TV audiences here. There seems to be no immediate logical reason for this. Our society is in the main peace-loving, respectable and proud of the fact that the death penalty has been abolished.

Perhaps there is a connection. It could be that we satisfy our blood lust, the longing to know that the gallows is claiming another victim today, by watching those 103 people die before our very eyes, executed by the programme producers. When we have seen all those miserable wretches shot, strangled and hanged we feel we can sleep safer in our beds.

It would, however, be far too simple to explain away the enormous amount of violence on television in this country by pointing to the psychological bent of viewers. As far as the producers of this constant stream of electronic murder are concerned money is obviously the guiding factor.

They know the weaknesses of the industrialised man who squats in front of the small screen. They know that his life is a humdrum business of sleeping, eating and working at the same dull job every day, that his life lacks excitement and that he needs something different, pre-packaged on his television screen to help him escape.

Many people like this may get a feeling of release from watching a crime series, but is is likely that many others may be inspired by the same viewing to go out and copy what they have seem done, squeezing a few throats here and there.

There are statistics to prove this too. The crime rate in the Federal Republic is rising. According to the Minister of the Interior there was a rise of 8.8 per cent in 1970, including serious robberies 38.1 per cent, robbery and criminal extortion fifteen per cent and murder 18.5 per cent. A survey of all the various groups involved showed that there was an increasing proportion of crime committed by adolescents, youths and children.

No one has yet provided figures to show that there is a direct link between blood shed on television and the crime rate. The increasing number of thefts can be seen as a result of the needs created by advertising and the competitiveness of the consumer society.

Nevertheless a survey carried out by the ZDF television channel in the series "Gewalt im Fernsehen" (violence on television) stated: "It could be assumed that a long period of watching violence on television may influence the viewer in such a way that he comes to accept the standards of behaviour shown in such programmes as a norm." At the moment ARD television has a committee considering behavioural problems in television programmes and ZDF has a programme reviewing department analysing the content of brutal scenes on the screen.

But even though these precise studies are in the pipeline the consequences of television programmes and their connection with social changes such as the rising crime rate cannot be gauged accurately.

The impression we gain, however, is that programmes such as this do instil the idea into people that whenever they come into conflict with anyone violence is always there as the last resort.

In a recent programme in the *Tarzan* series for instance simple humanity and peace with the world in the guise of an old maid who was travelling through the primaeval forests taking a harmonium with her was systematically ridiculed.

The next *Rauchende Colts* (lit. smoking colts) followed this. The father of the family felt that he was a failure because he had not immediately threatened the gangsters with violence at gunpoint.

It is only when he reaches for his firearm that he finds his self-respect again and proves to himself and the viewer that he is a real man.

The ideas of good and evil are not natural gifts given to men once and for all at birth. They are factors that change from time to time as well.

Things that were considered sinful yesterday, such as enjoying sex, can become *de rigueur* today. The same applies to aggression and violence. Just how quickly old ideas can be swept away was proved by the Nazis and the consequences were horrific.

If it was possible for Josef Goebbels to spread the anti-Semitic word so [illegible] among the population back in the thirties with the comparatively rudimentary means of communication available at the time, just think how much more effective the more immediate and powerful medium of television can be today with its regular exhibitions of brutality, concealed aggression and beneath-the-surface criminality.

One indication of the consequences of television violence and especially its effect on children was given by an investigation carried out by a psychologist and educational adviser in Speyer, who studied drawings done by children over a period of five years, 3,000 in all. All the drawings were by children who said they watched television a great deal. In the course of the five year the drawings depicting brutality increased from fourteen to 43 per cent.

The wave of violence on the small screen will, it is to be hoped, lead to an amendment to paragraph 131 of the statute book. This has been suggested by Minister of Justice Gerhard Jahn. This would provide for punishment for anyone who "depicts acts of violence against human beings in horrific or inhuman ways, or gives incitement to racial hatred".

This would affect radio and television greatly. But however appropriate such legislation may appear at the moment and however important such legislation may be, protecting children and adults alike from TV warmongering is certain to rouse accusations of censorship.

Should not a free society, and as bastions of that society the broadcasting companies be allowed to decide for themselves what they will screen?

It it just laziness, a lack of imagination or false economies that lead to viewers being presented with interminable bouts of cheap imported blood and guts sagas?

And is it necessary to plod through long-winded and dubious surveys before a minimum of self-imposed censorship is introduced?

Sibylle Krause-Burger

(Stuttgarter Zeitung, 14 August 1971)



Typical TV consumers — from an early age

(Photo: stern/Thom

Customs hunt drug peddlers

Combating the smuggling of drugs, weapons and gold is a present the main task of the Federal Republic's customs service.

A smuggling gang which since March last year has brought into the country illegally in all 6,476 kilograms of gold worth an estimated thirty million Marks, according to a press statement made by the customs division in Cologne and the director of finances in Koblenz, has been smashed.

The gold bars were smuggled in from Switzerland and deposited in banks in this country. Several members of the gang have already been arrested.

There has also been a considerable increase in the number of weapons and ammunition as well as high explosives smuggled into this country recently.

Since January 1966 and up to March 1969 a total of 143 cases of illegally exporting 17,284,000 rounds of ammunition for pistols have been reported.

As far as narcotics are concerned the report states that last year a total of 4,374 kilograms of hashish were confiscated in this country, twice as much as in 1969. On the other hand 500 grams fewer of hard drugs were smuggled into the country. Over 65 per cent of the drug peddlers arrested were under the age of 21 and thirty per cent of them were foreigners.

Until German Democratic Republic officials interfered the political situation between Bonn and East Berlin was of use to the smugglers. Booking flights through an East Bloc agency which used Schonefeld airport, East Berlin, drugs were brought to West Berlin via transit buses and from there carried into West Germany.

Drugs have been hidden in private cars, buses, lorries, wrecked cars, sweets and imitation lapis lazuli stones. A paraplegic Lebanese had hashish in his wheelchair. Holds in barges and false bottoms to luggage were also used to conceal drugs.

A Norwegian coal transporter had nine kilograms of cocaine in the middle of inflammable cargos for a Hamburg importer. (Der Tagesspiegel, 11 August 1971)



SPORT

Swimmers show their paces for Munich Olympics at Wattenscheid



In August last year it was decided that the amateur swimming championships in Wattenscheid were to be a dress rehearsal for Munich. Wattenscheid was to be a run-through of what would be deadly earnest at the Munich Olympics a year and two weeks later.

So it was that the championship heats were spread out over a week according to a strict timetable. All in all it was a week of unspeakable boredom.

Even with open championships attended by the world's best and seen by the most patient and easily-pleased of crowds a week would have been an intolerable length of time. As it was, spreading national talent over an international length of time was not the best of ideas.

An hour was wasted between contests for long-winded victory ceremonies but *this* is hardly the point. Theatrical super*stition* has it that unsuccessful dress rehearsals herald magnificent premieres.

Let us hope that the heats at Munich are not as boring as they were at Wattenscheid and contested by even finer swimmers than at Tokyo in 1964 and Mexico in 1968.

It would also be gratifying for outsiders to win a few gold medals – even if only to relieve the boredom of repetition of the Star-Spangled Banner.

At *Munich* as much time will be allowed *for the playing* of the national *anthem as* for an 800 metres women's *crawl*.

In sporting terms the prospects of this country's swimmers a year before the Olympics are none too clear in outline. There were a few records and a few outstanding performances but by and large the pundits were unable to agree at Wattenscheid on a formula for Munich.

The explanation is to be found behind the scenes of the Amateur Swimming Association. Tactics differ from one leading club and coach to another.

SC Wasserfreunde Wuppertal and chairman Baron Georg von Schilling feel that not even a top-flight competitive swimmer can afford to neglect his or her educational and professional training.

Wuppertal reached its peak last year when the club bagged thirteen national championship titles but even then it was clear that changes at the top were in the offing and the club was expected to forfeit its leading position this season.

SSF Bonn headed by chairman Hermann Hentze and chief coach Gerhard Hetz spectacularly took over the lead this year, benefiting at Wattenscheid from three seasons of intensive effort with competitive swimming as the sole criterion.

Gerhard Hetz, 29, Olympic swimmer in 1960 and 1964, world record-holder and twice Sportsman of the Year, coached his protégés a few weeks before the championships at high altitudes in Mexico.

This exercise cost the club 60,000 Marks but Hetz feels it was well worth the expense. He is bent on training for Munich at an altitude of 2,000 metres (6,500 ft) too.

Swimmers and coaches from other bastions of competitive swimming in this country, such as Würzburg, Heidelberg, Darmstadt, Saarbrücken and Hamm, feel, however, that Hetz could have achieved the same performances at far less cost by training at sea-level.

Wuppertal feels that the training camp should be in geographical and weather conditions similar to those in Munich and national coach Horst Planert agrees.

This means that as things stand there will be no uniform preparation for the country's Olympic swimmers.

For a good two years Planert has run the ASA swimming academy in Saarbrücken. The pupils of this specialised boarding-school have been quite successful.

Klaus Barth of Bremen, now studying in the United States but coached by Planert at Saarbrücken for Wattenscheid, has nothing but praise for conditions there. "If only you could indulge in sport everywhere like you can there," he says.

The ASA will need to think up some way of accommodating promising swimmers studying in the United States next year.

Ex-world record-holder Hans Fassnacht was absent by special permission at Wattenscheid because he is on the point of transferring from Long Beach to Boston. Olympic finalist Reinhard Merkel has evidently turned his back on swimming in the United States and Klaus Barth and Gregor Betz did not seem to have improved appreciably.

These, then, are my tips for the men:

– Without a doubt this country will have a 4x200 metres crawl relay team at Munich that will take some beating even by the United States. Hans Fassnacht and Werner Lampe will be joined by any of half a dozen prospects – Lutz Stoklasa, Hans-Günther Fosseler, Klaus Steinbach, Gerd Schiller, Olaf von Schilling (who next year will be a veteran 28) and Ernst Speidel.

– Dusan Grozaj of Würzburg, a Czech who will shortly be naturalised, could well join Hans Fassnacht and Werner Lampe in the 400 and 1,500 metres.

– In the breast-stroke self-confident Walter Kusch of Bochum (1 min. 7.1 sec. over 100 and 2 min. 28.2 sec. over 200 metres) is one of the world's best, yet he is hardpressed by Gregor Betz, Klaus Barth and Thomas Aretz (who is out because of injury at present).

– Hetz protégé Walter Mack of Bonn swam a noteworthy 200 metres butterfly in 2 min. 8.7 sec.

For the women Silke Pielen of Saarbrücken bettered her own all-German record to swim the 100 metres backstroke in 1 min. 7.3 sec., which puts her among the world's best.

In the 400 metres crawl one generation has been succeeded by the next. Sixteen-year-old Uta Schütz, a Weinheim schoolgirl coached by 27-time German champion Ursel Brunner of Heidelberg, came home first in 4 min. 45.7 sec. – 14.3 seconds faster than her trainer's personal best!

Uta Schütz beat Uschi Römer of Würzburg, who last year was reputed to have a great future. Uschi Römer is retiring from competitive sport. She feels coaching no longer has the required effect. She has just turned seventeen.

Karl Adolf Scherer

(Welt am Sonntag, 15 August 1971)



Seen from left to right at the Wattenscheid amateur swimming championships: Jürgen Schiller, 29-year old ex-world record-holder and Bonn coach Gerhard Hetz and crawl ace Werner Lampe.

(Photo: Horstmüller)



Georg von Opel

(Photo: dpa)

Georg von Opel dies

DIE WELT

Rüsselsheim industrialist and high-ranking sports official Georg von Opel has died in hospital of heart failure aged 59. The loss to sport in this country and abroad is that of a troublesome but much-respected warning voice.

Von Opel became President of the Marksmen's Association in 1951 and was from 1951 to 1969 President of the Federal Republic Olympic Association.

In 1959 the latter body sponsored the Golden Plan by which the Federal government, states and local authorities were to build 60,000 new sports facilities between 1960 and 1975. It also played a leading role in promoting the movement for physical training among the general public.

Born on 18 May 1912, Georg von Opel, the grandson of Adam Opel, founder of the motor manufacturers of the same name, was also an advocate of an hour's walking a day (and the Golden Shoe for a specified programme of hiking).

In 1966 he was elected a member of the International Olympic Committee at the wish of Karl Ritter von Halt, ex-President of the National Olympic Committee, who had died two years previously. On the IOC Georg von Opel advocated a modified amateur status.

He made his views public in a large number of brochures the best-known of which are "A Plea for the Amateur" and "The Future of Sport." From 1931 to 1955 he was one of this country's best oarsmen, Canadian champion in 1933, American champion in 1934 and from 1947 to 1951 seven-time German champion in the single-sculls, fours and eights.

(Die Welt, 16 August 1971)

Aden	SA $ 0.05
Afghanistan	Af 10.—
Algeria	DA 0.60
Angola	Esc. 1.—
Argentina	$ m p 45.—
Australia	10 c.
Austria	S 3.—
Belgium	bfr 6.—
Bolivia	$ b 1.50
Brazil	N. Cr. $ 0.35
Bulgaria	Lev 0.05
Burma	K 0.60
Burundi	F. Bu. 10.—
Cambodia	R 4.40
Cameroun	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Canada	Can. $ —.20
Ceylon	cR —.60
Chile	Esc. 0.60
Colombia	col $ 1.—
Congo (Brazzaville)	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Congo (Kinshasa)	Makuta 7.—
Costa Rica	C. 0.85
Cuba	P 0.13
Cyprus	11 d
Czechoslovakia	Kcs 0.50
Dahomey	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Denmark	dkr 0.90
Dom. Rep.	RD $ 0.16
Ecuador	S 2.50
El Salvador	C 0.30
Ethiopia	Eth. $ 0.30
Fiji	11 d
Finland	fmk 0.50
Formosa	NT $ 5.—
France	FF 0.60
Gabon	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Gambia	11 d
Germany	DM 1.—
Ghana	cedi 0.12
Great Britain	5 p
Greece	Dr 4.—
Guatemala	Q 0.15
Guayana	BWI $ 0.20
Guinea	F.G. 30.—
Haiti	G 0.65
Honduras (Br.)	$ BH 0.20
Honduras	L 0.25
Hong Kong	HK $ 0.70
Hungary	Ft 1.—
Iceland	Kr 5.—
India	Rs 0.60
Indonesia	Rp. 15.—
Iran	Rl 10.—
Iraq	50 fils
Ireland	11 d
Israel	I £ 0.40
Italy	Lir. 80
Ivory Coast	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Jamaica	11 d
Japan	Yen 50
Jordan	50 fils
Kenya	EAs 0.25
Kuwait	50 fils
Laos	Kip 60.—
Lebanon	P 40.—
Liberia	Lib $ 0.15
Libya	50 Mills
Luxembourg	lfr 6
Madagascar	FM 30.—
Malawi	11 d
Malaysia	M. $ 0.40
Mali	FM 60.—
Mexico	$ 1.60
Morocco	DM —.65
Mozambique	Esc. 1.—
Nepal	Mohur 1.—
Netherlands	Hfl 0.50
Netherlands Antilles	G. ant 0.25
New Zealand	9 c.
Nicaragua	C 0.65
Niger	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Nigeria	11 d
Norway	nkr 0.90
Pakistan	Rs 0.60
Panama	B. 0.15
Paraguay	G. 15.—
Peru	S. 3.60
Philippines	P. phil 0.60
Poland	Zl. 0.50
Portugal	Esc. 1.—
Rhodesia	11 d
Ruanda	F. Rw 12.—
Rumania	Leu 0.50
Saudi Arabia	RL 0.60
Sweden	skr 0.60
Switzerland	FS 0.50
Senegal	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Sierra Leone	Le 0.10
Somalia	Sh So 0.90
South Africa	Rand 0.10
South Korea	Won 35.—
S. Viet Nam	V.N. $ 15.—
Spain	Pts 6.—
Sudan	PT 5.—
Syria	£ S 0.60
Tanzania	EAs 0.25
Thailand	B 3.—
Trinidad and Tobago	BWI $ 0.20
Togo	F.C.F.A. 30.—
Turkey	T £ 1.25
Tunisia	65 M
Uganda	EAs 0.25
UAR	PT 5.—
Uruguay	P 20.—
USA	$ 0.20
USSR	Rbl. 0.10
Venezuela	B 0.60
Yugoslavia	Din 1.—
Zambia	11 d